

THE  
L I F E  
Of that Most Illustrious PRINCE,  
Charles V.  
Late DUKE of  
Lorraine and Bar,  
GENERALISSIMO  
Of the Imperial Armies.

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Rendred into *ENGLISH*  
From the Copy lately Printed at *Vienna*;  
Written by a Person of Quality, and a  
Great Officer in the Imperial Army.

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OV DEDICATED  
To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

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# To the King.

**A** *S the Memory of a Hero  
may Naturally Claim  
Your Majesties Prote-  
ction, so none ever had more  
Right to it, then the Great  
General here described. Suc-  
ceeding Ages will admire his  
Fortune, and his Conduct;  
but the present is justly taken  
up in Celebrating Yours. His  
Prudence, and his Valour we find  
in You Excell'd, and Success al-  
ways attends Your Person.*

May that Providence which  
has always shewn a Peculiar  
Care of Your Preservation, be  
still a Mighty Guardian against  
Yours, and the Nations Ene-  
mies; and after a Long Series  
of Happy Victories, may You  
be Crown'd with Immortality;  
Which are the hearty Prayers  
of,

May it Please Your Majesty,

Your Majesties most Faithful

and Devoted Subject

W I L S O N.

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
Charles V.

DUKE of *Lorraine* and *Bar*,  
And *Generalissimo* of all the  
Imperial Troops.

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THE FIRST BOOK.

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THE House of *Lorraine* is a House so well known, that 'twill be needless to enumerate so Ancient a Train of Successions. I shall content my self with acquainting you, that at the beginning of the Age last past, it divided it self into two Branches, by the two Sons of *René II. Duke of Lorraine and Bar.* Which

B

two

two Sons of René were *Anthony* and *Claudius*.

The last, who was the Younger Brother, went into *France*, and Espoused *Autonette* of *Bourbon*, Daughter of *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Count of *Vendosm*; and signaliz'd himself by so many renowned Actions under the Reign of *Francis* the First, that that Renowned Monarch, who no less rewarded Men of the Sword, then Persons eminent for Learning, erected in his Favour the Territory of *Guise* into a Dukedom. And from that time the Princes of that Branch were called *Dukes of Guise*.

*Anthony* remain'd in *Lorraine* with the Eldest Branch, that enjoy'd the Dukedom; and he had a Son called *Francis* who succeeded him. *Charles* the III. succeeded *Francis*, and had three Sons; *Henry* who had only two Daughters, *Nicolé* and *Glaudia*; *Charles*, afterwards made a Cardinal, and *Francis* Count of *Vaudemont*. This Count left two Sons, *Charles* the IV. and Duke *Francis*. *Charles* the IV. was Married with the Princess *Nicolé* his Cousin, by whom he had no Children: And Duke *Francis*, who was Cardinal, Espoused the Princess *Claudia*, from whom descended *Charles* the V. the Hero whose Life we are now to write.

*Charles* the IV. touching whom it is necessary that I should say something, was Generous, and Hardy. He had a lively and stirring Genius. He was civil and complaisant, well made as to his Person, in undertaking Bold, indefatigable in Labour, and patient in Adversity. But with all these great Qualities, and an infinite number of others, he was so wavering in his

his Resolutions, and sometimes so great an Enemy to Counsels, which they who most sincerely Espous'd his Interest gave him, that he became the most unfortunate Prince of his Age.

He succeeded *Henry* his Uncle ; and during the time that he had the most peaceable Enjoyment of his Territories, he embroyl'd himself with *France*, which precipitated him into so many Misfortunes, that he could never extricate himself ; and this was the Original

The President *de Bret*, Intendant of Justice in the City of *Mets*, had made a Decree touching some Pretensions of the Country of *Messin*, which he maintain'd to belong to the Bishoprick of the capital City of that Country. Though this Affair was of no grand Importance, *Charles* however took Fire at it ; and without foreseeing the events, having made the Emperor sensible that this was an Affair which concern'd him, because of the Bishoprick of *Vic*, which hethen enjoy'd, and which was distinguish'd from that of *Mets*, he made him this Proposal, That if for the maintenance of his Priviledges, he would send some Régiments, to take up their Winter Quarters in that Country ; he on the other side, would engage to furnish him underhand with what Money might be necessary to fortifie *Moyenvic*, which was a curb to the City of *Mets*, that by this means he might be in a condition to resist the Enterprizes of the King of *France*.

*Lewis* the XIII, who Reign'd at that time, was then busi'd at the Siege of *Rochel*. So that the Emperor, who believ'd he might make his Advantage of the opportunity, sent such a Force



into the Bishoprick of *Vic*, which he thought necessary: And set himself to fortifie *Moyenvic*. The Duke Arms also of his side, under the pretence of defending his Territories. But though this feigned Precaution appear'd very lawful, *Lewis XIII.* soon saw through it; and therefore after a Years Siege, having reduc'd *Rochebel*, he was fully resolv'd to revenge himself upon the Duke, ere he turn'd his Arms elsewhere.

• *Procurat. Nanci.*

*Madam de Chevreuse*, who was Marry'd to a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*, at that time was fled to *Nanci*, being compell'd to absent her self from the Court of *France*, and from the Kingdom, for certain Intrigues which all the World knows. This Princess, concerning whom it was said \*, That she kindled the Fire of Love in the Heart of all those Princes with whom she went to Negotiate, during the time that she carried every where the Fire of War against *France*, being extreamly disgusted by reason of her Banishment, forgot nothing to animate the Duke against *Lewis the XIII.*; and she had no great trouble to bring her Design to pass, the Duke being already sufficiently dispos'd to it. For in short, how little considerable the Usurpation in dispute, was, yet the consequence might prove very pernicious. And indeed, this resentment was very natural, it being no great satisfaction for a Prince to see that any one should usurp upon his Rights.

In the interim, the Duke not being strong enough to resist the King of *France*, he thought it best to Dissemble, until a more favourable Conjunction should present it self, than that, wherein his Affairs then were; and this

this Policy had such good Success, that *Lewis* the XIII. beginning no longer to distrust him, turn'd his Forces towards *Italy*, that he might assist the Duke of *Mantua*, who had War with the Emperor.

During the time that these things past in *Italy*, *Monsieur* the Kings only Brother, dissatisfied at the too great Favour of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who then absolutely Govern'd *France*, departed the Kingdom, and withdrew himself into *Lorrain*, to the Dukes Court, where he Espoused, sometime after, \* in Second Marriage, the Princess *Margaret*, youngest Daughter of the Count of *Vaudemont*, without the Consent of the King his Brother. The Duke, who, had his Reasons for managing the Humour of *Lewis* the XIII. informs him of the retirement of the Duke of *Orleans*; but the King nevertheless would not lay aside his Suspicions, that he held Intelligence with that Prince. And that which confirm'd him in this Suspicion was, That the Duke had at that time on Foot an Army of more than Fourteen Thousand Men. This Warlike Preparation which was considerable, and gave him a Jealousie, oblig'd him to press the Duke of *Lorrain* to declare himself, or to lay down his Arms; and the Duke, who was not as yet in a Condition of undertaking any thing, after many Negotiations, carry'd his Men at length to the Emperor, who lost the Battle of *Leirsic*, to the King of *Sweden*.

Yet this was no hindrance, but that the King went to besiege *Mazevic*, some time after. The Duke receiv'd the News by a Post which the Count of *Vaudemont* his Father sent him. Upon

\* *Gaston*  
*John*  
*Baptiste*  
of *France*  
Duke of  
*Orleans*,  
Espoused  
*Margaret*  
of  
*Lorrain*  
at *Nancy*  
in the  
year  
1632.

which he made all the hast imaginable to relieve the Place. But having lost almost all his Men, e're he could come to a Battel, he thought the best course he could take, was to find out the King; and so without pondering any farther, he went to *Mets*, where the King lay. 'Tis true, he had as Magnificent a Reception as he could have expected. However, the Siege was still carried on; and the place was no sooner deliver'd up, but the King express'd himself thus to the Duke, ' Though he had ' manifested some Marks of good Will, never-  
' theless he was very much dissatisfied touching  
' his Conduct, and that if he desir'd a Recon-  
' ciliation, he must yield him up *Marsal*.

Now in regard the Duke had put himself into the Hands of his Enemy, he was forc'd to undergo the Condition. Therefore by a Treaty which he Sign'd, he resign'd *Marsal* as a Pledge for four years to *France*, to the great dissatisfaction of all his Friends, and above all of the Duke his Father, who was extreamly troubled at it. After this he return'd to *Nancy*.

One would have imagin'd that this ill Success would have made this Prince sensible, that he was not as yet in a Condition to resist *France*. All those who tender'd his Interest, and who had any Access to him, Counsell'd him to be quiet, for fear of bringing on himself some new Misfortunes. But listning to no Body but his own great Heart on this Occasion, and being as it were in Despair, for that the King of *France*, having taken the Advantage of his Sincerity, had constrain'd him to deliver up *Marsal*, he Levies new Forces, and the better to conceal his design, he made as if it were to fall upon the King of *Sweden*.

*Lewis*

*Lewis* the XIII, who had made a League with that King, and who was glad to have any pretence, did not only acquaint the Duke, that it was the same thing to take Arms against him, as against a Prince who was his Ally; but that he might make him incapable of undertaking any thing, marches at the same time toward *Lorrain* with a considerable Army.

The Duke was much alarm'd at this News, and as he knew not what Course to take to oppose the Kings Forces, he sent the Cardinal his Brother, Duke *Francis*, to meet the King, and acquaint him that it was not his design to contend with him. But all this tended to no other Conclusion, but that he must deliver up four Places as Gages for his Fideliry, viz. *Stenay*, *Clermont*, *Jamets*, and *Dun*; which being perform'd, he promis'd him that he would protect him against the *Swedes*, who threatned to enter to his Country, and burn it.

For the King of *Sweden* was an Enemy no less to be fear'd than the King of *France*. And therefore the Dukes Friends would frequently remonstrate to him, that there was great Policy requisite in the managing those two Princes; that he must wait for a favourable Opportunity, if he design'd to make War, and not rashly embark himself into any new Enterprizes. He had lost all the Hopes which he could have proposed of Benefit and Advantage from the Discontent of the Kings Brother, by the defeat of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and the *Swedes* strook terrour into all places wherever they came. In the mean time, though there was not any appearance that he could have

the least Advantage in the World over his Enemies, as his Affairs then stood, yet he flatter'd himself with a thousand Hopes. He Ordered his Army to march against the Swedes, and endeavour to raise the Siege before *Haguenau*, and to relieve *Brisac*, which the Swedes had blockt up for some considerable time. But this attempt was so far from succeeding well, that it prov'd utterly Deplorable. For though the Swedes were forc'd to raise their Siege from before *Haguenau*; whithin two Leagues of that Place they gave Battel to the *Lorrain* Army, which was so furiously fought on both sides, and Fortune so fantastick, that both Armies were Routed. And whilst these things were a doing, a French Army enters into *Lorrain* with a design to Besiege *Nancy*; *Lewis* the XIII. assuming this for a pretence, That the Duke had not punctually observ'd the Conditions of the Treaty, which had been Concluded with him.

This is most certain, that if the Duke at his arrival had perform'd what he might have done, he might have broken all the King of *France's* Measures. For *S. Chamant*, who Commanded the French, had no more than Four Thousand Men with him, when he came to invest that Place. In so much that the Duke might have forc'd him to quit his Post, ere he had receiv'd any Assistance. But in lieu of making the attempt, he had recourse to a Negotiation. Only he hastily puts all things into what Order he could for the Defence of *Nanci*; into which he clapp'd about Three or Four Thousand Foot, and Two or Three Hundred Horse,



Horſe, and retiring into the Mountains of *Voges* with ſome ſmall Forces to defend the Avenues, he ſends his Brother the Cardinal to find out the King, and acquaint him with his Reaſons. The King receives him, after his uſual manner, with great Marks of Diſtinction; and declar'd, That if he had been only to Treat with him, he ſhould have received all the Favour that he could have expected from him; ſo fully he was perſwaded of his Sincerity and juſt Dealing: But ſeeing he could not any longer depend upon any Word of his Brother the Duke, it was neceſſary that for a Pledge of his Fidelity he ſhould reſign up to him the City of *Nanci*.

This Condition was too ſevere to be accepted by the Duke. In the interim the King comes in Perſon before the Place, and ſpares nothing to make himſelf Maſter of it. On the other ſide the Cardinal of *Lorrain* went backwards and forwards uſing all his endeavours to render *Lewis* the XIII. more flexible, though *Nanci* was beſieg'd. But all that he could obtain after many Civilities, was, That in caſe he were himſelf Duke of *Lorrain*, it would be no difficult matter to grant his Requeſt, being indeed really perſuaded, that he might depend upon his Word. *Charles* the IV. was in a ſtrange Confuſion upon this Answer, inſomuch that a Thouſand Thoughts came crowding into his Mind. But in the concluſion, having made ſome particular Reflection upon thoſe obliging Words which the King had ſpoken to his Brother the Cardinal, and believing that if he ſhould ſeem to comply to the making a  
Sur-



Surrender of his Principality, the King would become more tractable; he resolves therefore to take that Course. He perform'd his Submission in all the Forms. The Cardinal receiv'd the Homages for his new Dignity. And the King himself gave him Joy of his Confirmation. But he would not forego his Pretensions upon *Nanci*. And having drawn the Duke into his Camp by the Artifices of Cardinal *Richelieu*, this unfortunate Prince was forc'd to Surrender up that Place for four Years by a Treaty, that he might recover his Liberty.

The Cardinal of *Lorraine* flatter'd himself, that after all these Concessions of his Brother the Duke, *Lewis* the XIII. would rest himself there. But as the Design of *France* was to seize the Principality of that Prince, *Lewis* the XIII. always pretending some new occasion of Discontent, sent the Marshal *de la Ferté* into *Lorraine* with considerable Forces, pretending that he had some Design upon *Germany*.

This News not only surpriz'd the Cardinal of *Lorraine*; but very much alarm'd him, as being apprehensive of some Violence. He knew that *Lewis* the XIII. was extreamly incens'd against his Brother, for it was by the Benefit of a Pass-port which that Prince had granted during the Siege of *Nanci*, that he had assisted the Princess *Margaret* his Sister to make her escape, in the midst of those Fears, wherein he was, that the French would carry her away by force: For the King did not approve the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother.

In

In the height of these Apprehensions he retires himself to *Luneville* with the two Princesses, the Princess *Nicolé* and the Princess *Claudia*, who remain'd with him; Duke *Charles* being withdrawn into *Burgundy*, after the resigning of *Nanci*.

The Marshal *de la Ferté* was not long ere he Besieged them in their Retirement. And therefore the Cardinal having received Information, that the King had a design to force away those two Princesses, and send them into *France*, he propos'd a Marriage to the Princess *Claudia*, between her and himself, to which the Princess gave consent, not only upon the hopes of preserving their House, but because that for a long time she had always a great Fancy and Inclination for the Cardinal.

There was one Difficulty to surmount; for, that being Cousin-Germains, they could not Marry without a Dispensation, and there was an absolute necessity that they should Marry speedily. For seeing the Duke of *Lorrain* had no Children by the Princess *Nicolé*, it was very much to be fear'd, that if the Princess *Claudia* his Sister should fall into the Kings Hands, before she was Marry'd to the Cardinal her Cousin, he would Marry her to some Prince of the Blood in that Kingdom, which would soon furnish *France* with a new pretence to seize upon all *Lorrain*, as undoubtedly it was the Design of *France*.

Seeing therefore no time was to be lost, all the Ecclesiasticks, and Learned Men among them which could be found out, were assembled together, and this Assembly being convened,

•Nicholas  
Francis  
Married  
the Prin-  
cess Claudia in the  
Year  
1643.

ven'd, and concluding that on Occasions of that Nature, no other Rules could be followed than those of Necessity, the Obstacle was soon past over; the Marriage was concluded the same Day\*, and afterwards allowed and approved of by the Pope.

Duke Francis the next Day sent one of his Gentlemen to the Marshal *de la Ferte*, to acquaint him with the News of his Marriage. To which the Marshal, who was surpriz'd, and never expected that the Cardinal would quit his Purple to Marry a Wife, return'd Answer, That he believed the King would be displeased that he was Married without his being acquainted with it. And therefore flattering himself, that the Marriage could not be Consummated, because of the want of a Dispensation, and that some Nullity might be found in it, he forced the Duke and Princesses to go to *Nunci*, there to expect farther Orders from the King his Master, to whom he dispatch'd an Express immediately.

The Marshal ordered that they should be Treated with much Respect. Nevertheless, they were no sooner arrived in the Dukes Palace, but their Chamber was surrounded with Guards. In this extremity, Duke Francis made it his Study to find out some Contrivance to get clear of his Keepers. And having soon bethought himself, he imparts his Design to the Princess his Wife, who readily condescending to Act her part, he so well ordered his Business, that his Design succeeded to his Wish.

He

He chose for this purpose the first day of *April*, on which day it is usual in *Lorrain* to put little Deceits upon such Persons who are easily cheated. And such Fools are called, *The Fish of April*. This practice was so well known to the French, that to avoid their being deceiv'd, they mistrusted whatsoever could be said to them upon that day. And this was the Reason that they would give no Credit to those several Cautions given them very seasonably, concerning the escape of the Prince and Princess, being really persuaded that this was only given out to make them run after them; so that the fear which they had of being Deceiv'd, was the only occasion they were trickt in good earnest.

The following Night, the Dutchesse, that she might the better deceive the Guards, got out of the Palace in the Habit of a Page, carrying a Flambeau before one of the Duke her Husbands Gentlemen, whom she was to meet in the House of his first Gentleman of the Chamber; and where he was already come disguised, under the contemptible Habit of a Porter, not sparing his own Hair, which was very delicate and lovely, but having cut it off, that he might be the less known.

So soon as day approacht, and the Gates of the City were open'd, the Dutchesse, who was now disguised into a poor Country Woman carrying a Basket upon her Back, and conducted by the Duke, who was disguised likewise, they went out by a Gate, called *Nôtre Dame*, and walk'd about half a League in this Equipage, with incredible trouble to the Princess

cess, who had never before walk'd so many weary Steps on Foot before. However after they had thus overcome the Ways, which were very uneven and rugged, they found a Gentleman who expected them with Horses.

But indeed that which was very Singular, and might have caus'd the whole enterprize to Miscarry, was, That when they were past the Gate, a Female Peasant who came from the Field, and was going into the City, knew them though they were in that uncouth and strange Disguize. And this Woman, by a rustick Imprudence, and desire of Pratling, which is so Natural to that Sex, could not forbear imparting it to a Soldier of the Guard, with whom she was acquainted. This Soldier declares it to his Officer at the same time: But the Officer only Laught at it, believing that it was the Fish of *April*, which the Peasant would have put upon him. Nevertheless he gave the Count of *Brassac*, Governor of the City, an account of it some Hours after, but yet without giving any credit to the Relation. But the Count, as he was Naturally Suspicious and Fearful, was more diligent, and therefore sent away to the Officer who had the Guard of the Duke and Dutcheß, to be inform'd of the Truth. The Officer had no sooner receiv'd this Order, but he went and knockt at their Chamber Door, to know if they were up; but a *Valet de Chambre*, who was privy to the Secret, beckon'd with his Hand, thereby to signifie that he should not make a Noise, for that they were as yet a Sleep.

This Officer had always treated them with great Respect, and all the Civility imaginable ;  
and



and therefore being afraid to wake them, would not order the Door to be open'd. But the Count of *Brassac* upon his arrival, compell'd the *Valet de Chambre* to do it. And then he went himself and drew the Curtains of the Bed; where finding the Birds flown, he discharg'd his fury upon the Master of the House where they had withdrawn themselves the Evening before, and upon the Dukes Domesticks, which were found there, whom he sent to Prison, threatening withal to put them to the Torture if they would not discover the place of their Masters Concealment.

But though they were very severely handled, yet there was no way to make the least discovery; for the Duke had not only conceal'd it from his Domestick Servants, but from the Gentleman of the House, of whose service he made use, what way he design'd to take; not that he was distrustful of him, but that he might safely Swear that he knew nothing of the matter.

They pursu'd every way after them, but it prov'd ineffectual, because of the extream diligence which had been us'd, notwithstanding the delicacy and tenderness of the Dutchess; for a Man mounted behind on Horseback held her always in his Arms for the greater Expedition, and to keep her from falling. At length they gain'd the County of *Burgundy*, and arriv'd the same day at a Gentlemans Castle, about Twenty Leagues distant from *Nanci* from whence the Princess, who was quite tir'd out, was not in a Condition to depart till three  
or



or four Days after. The Reason why they rather determin'd to go to *Burgundy* than elsewhere, was, That they were in hopes to find the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Besancon*; but being inform'd that he was gone into *Germany*, they took the road for *Florence*, and came to the Dutcheſs their Aunt, Grand Mother to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, then Reigning. There they remain'd almoſt Three Years: But the Air of that Country not agreeing with them, the Reason as they thought why they could have no Children there, they reſolv'd to quit *Italy*, and went to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, to the Empreſs *Leonora*, another of their Aunts.

This Marriage of Duke *Francis* was ſuch a blow that broke all the Meaſures of the King of *France*, who being reſolv'd whatever it coſt him, to make himſelf Maſter of *Lorrain*; would have been glad to have gotten the Princeſs *Claudia* into his Alliance, as I have already obſerv'd. Nevertheleſs he would not deſiſt from that deſign which he had been contriving for ſo long a time: And therefore, as he always made uſe of the old Pretence, That the Duke of *Lorrain* had broken the Articles of Treaty which he had concluded with him, ſoon after he return'd into the Principality of this Prince, and takes the City of *St. Michel*; and though that in the mean while an Army of Imperialiſts were oblig'd to poſt themſelves near *Mets*; theſe Troops of the Emperor, as much Conſederates as they were, yet ſet their laſt helping Hand to the Ruin of *Lorrain*.

But

But that which seems particularly Remarkable is this, that during the time that this Country was the Theater of War, and that unheard of Hostilities were exercised in it, *Charles* the IV. seem'd not in the least to be concern'd; but as if his Principality had enjoyed the most secure and *Halcyon* Tranquillity, he fell in Love with the Princess of *Cantecroix* \*, whom at length he Espoused. From this Match Descended *Charles Henry* Prince of *Vaudemont*, so well known by his first Campaigns, and by the Illustrious Rank which he holds at this day in the Army of the Allies; and a Princess called the Princess *Anne*, who was Married with the Prince of *Lislebonne*.

\* This was Beatrix of Cusance, Widow of Eugenius Leopold, Prince of Cantecroix.

*croix*. He Married her at *Besancon*, in the Church of the *Fiers Minime*, the Second of April 1637.

I could give an account of several remarkable Things concerning *Charles* the IV, which I shall pass over in silence, as likewise the History of his Marriage; for besides that you may Read those Passages elsewhere, they are not so material to my Subject. I shall only acquaint you, that after he had defeated in *Alsacia* Count *Orho*, one of the most dreaded Generals of the *Suedes*, and signaliz'd himself in *Germany* by many other Actions of Valour, he withdrew himself into *Flanders*, where the *Spaniards*, who had War with *France*, receiv'd him with much Joy, and conferr'd on him divers Employments; during which time he also seized upon some small places of *Lorrain*. But being cast a third time into the Hands of the King of *France*, he Signed another Treaty, which was no less dis-

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advan-

advantageous than the former ; and this was the occasion of a new War, wherein likewise he saw himself stript of all his Principality.

The Air of *Vienna* was more wholesome to the Princess *Claudia* than that of *Florence*, and for an Accumulation of Happiness and Joy, after various Troubles, and a long Exile, she grew big with Child, and was brought to Bed in the year 1639. of Prince *Ferdinand Philip Francis*; who, after he had given infinite Proofs of his Bravery, while he was cutting for the Stone, died in the Operation, the first day of *April* 1658. And four Years after, the Third of the same Month of *April* 1643, was Born *Charles* the Fifth, who was called *Charles Leopold Nicholas Sixtus*. The same Year died *Lewis* the XIII, and Cardinal *Ricbelieu*, the greatest Enemies at that time to *Charles* the Fourth. But neither did the Nativity of this Prince, (which seemed to be a happy Prefage for the House of *Lorrain*, nor the Death of the King of *France*, and of his Minister, who then might be said to Reign,) bring any considerable change to the Dukes Affairs, though he had conceiv'd at first great hopes to be restored to his Territories. He flatter'd himself that he might accommodate Things with the Queen, the Mother of *Lewis* the XIV, and there was some appearance for it. For this Princess sympathizing in his Misfortunes, by reason of that conformity which was between her destiny and his, had always testified a great Affection for him, notwithstanding he was so much imbroil'd with the Court of *France*.

But

But things did not succeed in such a manner as the Duke expected. For Cardinal *Mazarine* who succeeded in that Ministry, and who trod in the Footsteps of his Predecessor, had inspired this Princess with such Interested Politics, that from the very Moment of her assuming the Regency, she was possessed with another Spirit; and indeed we may affirm, that she was more severe to the Duke in particular, than *Lewis* the XIII. ever had been.

*Charles* the IV. therefore frustrated on that side of all those hopes which he had conceiv'd, bent his Thoughts wholly to render himself formidable to *France*, and made no delay in the performance of it. He signaliz'd himself in so many Occasions against the French, that considering how much his Courage was thereby exalted, there was great likelihood that one day he would attempt to re-enter into his Dominions by plain force; so that the Queen, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, us'd all means possible to bring him over to their Party. And this Desire particularly encreased, when they saw *France* began to be torn in pieces by those Civil Wars, which made so great a Noise during the Minority of *Lewis* XIV. They urg'd, That in regard it was upon the King that his Restoration to his Dominions depended, (since the King held them in his Hands,) he might expect from him more favourable Conditions than from the Spaniards, with whom he was then engaged. They offered him an entire Restitution of all those Places which had been taken from him, *Nancy* excepted; which nevertheless they obliged themselves to restore

store upon the general Peace, without demolishing the Fortifications. But whether the Duke thought himself strong enough to regain his Country by force, or that he would be reveng'd of the Queen, or that he thought he could not place any great Assurance upon a Treaty made in the Minority of the King, or what other Reasons he might have, which could never yet be div'd into, he rejected all these Conditions, though seemingly so very Advantagious to him.

He was always at *Brussels*, and as he was become very necessary to the Spaniards, by the Assistance of his Men, for which he was paid considerable Sums; he made use of these Sums, and of such as he gain'd by the Contributions of his Country, to purchase many fair Lands in *Flanders*, which yielded a great Revenue. In the mean time, how rich soever he might be, Duke Francis was not so well at Ease. For Charles the Fourth looking upon the Prince of *Kaudemont* as the presumptive Heir of *Lorraine*, and perceiving well enough that the Duke his Brother could not but oppose his Pretensions, by reason of Prince Charles his Son; this thought had made such an Impression in his Spirit, that he left him for this Reason at *Vienna*, without affording him any great Assistance. But this was not the worst which then befel Duke Francis, who could patiently enough support the capriciousness of his Fortune. For about that time he lost the Dutchesse *Claudia* his Wife, a Princess generally lamented in the Court of the Emperor, by reason of those many amiable Qualities wherewith she was Adorn'd.

\*She died  
in the  
year  
1652.

Duke



Duke *Francis* had wrestled above Fifteen Years with his evil Fortune, yet he looked upon this Blow as the most severe and heavy that he had ever felt; and he was so afflicted with it, all his Life, that he would never Marry, how profitable soever a second Marriage might have proved for the Re-establishment of his Affairs. He intrusted to the care of a Religious House, a young Princess, born likewise in the same Wedlock, who afterwards was Abbess of *Remiremont*, but is since Dead. And for Prince *Ferdinand*, and Prince *Charles*, he put them into the Hands of Monsieur the Marquis of *Beauvau*, to take care of their Education; *Charles* the Fifth not being above Nine Years of Age when the Dutchess died.

But how great soever those Services were which *Charles* the Fourth had performed for *Spain*, after his withdrawing himself into *Flanders*, that Crown never did any thing for him, though they were particularly engaged to joyn their Forces with his, for the restoring him to his Dukedom. Of this the Duke loudly enough complain'd; insomuch that the Spaniards fearing lest being repulsed by so many vain Promises which had been made by him, he would in the Conclusion seek out some other *Asylum*, and more secure Protection than theirs, to procure Tranquillity for himself and his Subjects, resolved to stop him. And the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, Governor of *Flanders*, who was none of his Friends, had Order to put this Design in Execution, as soon as he could find a favourable opportunity for it. At the same time Archduke *Leopold*, assisted by the



*Lorrain* Forces, gained *Rocroi* from the French, and this was in the year 1655. And now the Campaign being ended, and all the General Officers of the Spanish Army retired to *Brussels*, the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, whom Jealousie rather put upon Action than the Interest of his Master, was only intent upon executing that secret Order which was given him. And that he might not miss his aim, after he had communicated his Design to the Archduke, who was obliged to give his Consent, he quickly dispersed the Duke of *Lorrain's* Soldiers into Winter-Quarters, so remote the one from the other, and divided one from another by Rivers, that it was impossible for them to assist their Prince, who little expected so sad a Destiny, though he had been admonished of it sufficiently before-hand.

Things being thus disposed, the Count, who now only waited for a favourable Opportunity, found out a way to draw the Duke to the Palace, under the specious pretext of some important Affairs which had fallen out, and wherein he had an Interest. But as he thought to enter into the Council-Chamber, he was stopt at the Door. The next Morning he was conducted by Water down the Canal of *Antwerp* into the Cittadel of that City, and from thence was brought into *Spain*, and confined in the Castle of *Toledo*, where he remained a Prisoner during the space of five Years.

The Count of *Fuensaldagne* had no sooner brought his Designs about, but Archduke *Leopold* sent the Count of *Sainte Amour* at *Vienna*, to acquaint Duke *Francis* with the Confinement

of the Duke his Brother. He alledged the Reasons which obliged the King of *Spain* to secure the Person of that Prince; and at the same time he requested him to come, and put himself at the Head of the *Lorrain* Forces, assuring him that his Catholick Majesty had no other Intention than that of his Re-establishment; and that he would never Consent to any Peace, but what should prove for the advantage of his Family.

Duke *Francis*, not a little griev'd for the Misfortune of the Duke his Brother, and 'tis probable no less apprehensive lest the like Fate might befall him, upon the first Motion refus'd the Offer. But the Emperor and Empress *Eleonora* his Aunt having united their Prayers to the importunate Sollicitations of the Archduke, and laying before him the grand Advantages which he might reasonably hope for from the King of *Spain*; this Prince, rather perswaded by the Considerations of the Interest of his Family, than his own particular Concerns, resolved to go to *Brussels*, and to carry Prince *Ferdinando* and Prince *Charles* along with him.

When Duke *Francis* departed, the Emperor was at *Ratisbonne*, whither he was gone to reside for some time, till the King of *Hungaria* his Eldest Son were Crown'd King of the *Romans*. The Duke went to take leave of him; at what time *Ferdinand* the III, after he had given him all the Marks of a tender affection, and made him a Magnificent Entertainment, ordered him to be conducted by a Troop of his Guards to *Nuremberg*, together with the Marquis of *Harau-*

court, who was sent to meet him by the Archduke, to sollicite his departure and to hasten his Journey. He passed through the Territories of the Electors of *Mayence*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Neuburg*, where he was received with all the Honour that could have been paid to the Emperor himself; and above all, at *Dusseldorp*. The Spaniards defrayed all his Expences during his Journey; and the Archduke came to meet him within a League of *Brussels* with all the Burgessees, who had all rang'd themselves in Arms; so that greater Joy was never seen.

Duke *Francis* was not long ere he put himself at the Head of the *Lorrainers*, who received him with Acclamations, not easie to be express'd. At the same time the King of *France* had laid Siege before *Stenai* by Marshal *de Fabert*. Upon which the Spaniards, who thought that all the French Forces were employed at this Siege, resolv'd to begirt *Arras*. Duke *Francis*, who foresaw the difficulty of this Enterprize, and who likewise perceived that the Ministers of *Spain* had only given their Consent to please the Prince of *Condé*, who was in the Spanish Army, and who absolutely desired this Siege, made it sufficiently appear that he did not believe they could carry the Place. But in regard he perceived that they absolutely resolv'd to lay Siege to *Arras*, he march'd thither with his Army, and was desirous that Prince *Ferdinand* should there begin his first Campaign: For Prince *Charles*, being as yet extreamly young, was left at *Brussels* under the Tuition of Monsieur *Romécourt*.

What

What Duke *Francis* was afraid of came to pass. The Spaniards were forc'd to raise the Siege of *Arras*; they were beaten by the French; and the Rout was so great, that all their Infantry, their Cannon and Baggage remained in the custody of their Enemies; in-somuch that Duke *Francis*, and Prince *Ferdinand* being arrived at *Valencienmes*, they found themselves destitute of all Things, not having so much as a Field Bed. However, the Archduke order'd that they should be assisted with incredible Civilities. But things began to change Countenance when they came to *Brussels*. They found the Chambers of the Archdukes Palace, where they lodg'd, all strip'd of those Moveables which were in it before; and they were inform'd that the great Master of the Household had prohibited Prince *Charles* to take the Air in the Park in a Coach, though it were a liberty which was very rarely refus'd to Women of the meanest Quality in the City.

The Archduke, who was a good Prince, and who had an intire Affection for Duke *Francis*, was extreemly dissatisfied in his Mind, to see him treated so ill. But he was forc'd to dispense with, and allow these Hardships and Injustices, not daring to oppose the Count of *Fuensaldagne* who was entirely Master in *Brussels*, and who not having met with that plianthess in the Duke which he expected, endeavour'd to humble him. Duke *Francis* nevertheless was in hopes that the Count would become more Tractable. But upon a Rumour which then run, that *Charles* the Fourth had sent from his Prison  
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an Order to the *Lorrain* Officers, that they should retire into *France*, where the Princess *Nicholé* was, and carry with them as many of their Men as they could, the Spaniards laid a design to stop the Duke. That which oblig'd the Spaniards to this Resolution, was this, That some time before two Colonels had deserted with their Regiments, and were gone over to the Service of the King of *France*, and this had alarm'd them. Yet for all that, this is most certain, that the Duke had no Design, or the least Intention to cast himself into the Hands of the French, who were his mortal Enemies, and who had invaded all *Lorrain*. But the Duke saw himself so ill treated by the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, and perceiv'd so many little Artifices made use of to secure him, that he went into *France* with all the *Lorrainers* which were in the Service of the King of *Spain*; taking Prince *Ferdinand* with him. For Prince *Charles*, upon what grounds of Policy I know not, was left at *Brussels*. But being he was in good Hands, they order'd his escape when they saw it convenient; so that at length he was conducted by Water through the Canal of *Antwerp* into *Holland*, to secure him from the fury of the Spaniards, for the Revolt of the Duke his Father. And being come to *Paris*, where Prince *Ferdinand* was already, the Duke presented these two young Princes to the King, withal acquainting him, that he put them both into his Hands, for a Pledge of his Fidelity to his Service; which was kindly accepted by his Majesty, who promis'd likewise that he would protect them, and advance them to Employments proportionable to their Birth.

Prince



Prince *Ferdinand* had already been in Four Campaignes, wherein he had highly Signaliz'd himself, but then Died after that manner, which we have already related. His Death had almost overwhelm'd Duke *Francis* with Grief, and some Months after he was in great hazard of loosing Prince *Charles*, by an Accident which had like to have proved as fatal as the Minute was Auspicious, which ushered such a Prince into the World, whom he lov'd to the height of Passion and Tenderness; as one who gave in his younger years as great and pregnant Hopes, as any Prince of his Years. The Accident was this.

The young Prince managing a Horse in the Academy, where he performed his Exercises; the Horse, that had but one eye, yet very sprightly, hit so ruggedly against one of the Pillars of the Managé, that the Prince, as nimble and active as he was, in a moment was thrown backward to the Ground; and though he fell only upon Sand, yet he received so terrible a blow upon the Head, that he lay without any Motion. Endeavours were used to bring him to himself; but all those little Remedies which were apply'd, signify'd nothing; he was laid upon a Bed in the Academy; where he continued six whole Hours without giving any sign of life, though there appeared neither Wound, nor Contusion in his Head, nor in any Part of his Body. The News of this Fall quickly allarm'd all the Court. And the King who had an account of it, ere it was declared to Duke *Francis*, was so really afflicted at this accident, that he  
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commanded that without losing time, his Physicians should be sent to him, and the most experienced Chirurgeons which could be found in the City, that he might not be blamed in any thing, if the Accident prov'd fatal. The King's Orders were immediately obeyed, but the Prince was in so sad a Condition, that one of the principal Physicians, after he had well considered, and viewed him, declared aloud, as he was going out of the Chamber, That he would Die; which made others too sadly believe there was no hopes, and that whatever could be done, would be to no purpose. However, recourse was had to all sorts of Remedies, and those which were applied were so prevalent, that six Hours after, he began to breathe. From that time forwards, every moment there appeared new signs of life in him; and at length he recovered his Speech. And by little and little he regain'd so much Strength, that his Cure was no longer doubted of.

We need not question but Duke *Francis* was extremely alarm'd and afflicted at this sad Accident. For though he were accustomed to these kind of tryals, yet this mischance quite sunk him, though Father *Poirot* a Jesuit, his Confessor, who brought him the News, used all the Precautions imaginable; however, he surrender'd up himself with a profound Humility to receive this last Affliction, which his ill Fortune seem'd to have prepar'd for him; and letting fall some Tears, he was heard to pronounce these Pious Words; *God gave, and God has taken away, his Will be done.*

But

But there was nothing mournful that afterwards accompanied this Accident. There were no Symptoms succeeded which the Physicians were afraid of, and which might not reasonably be expected in such Mischances. The young Prince himself felt nothing of Inconvenience some days after. On the contrary, he found himself in such a good disposition of Body, that he thought himself strong enough to continue his Exercises. However, in regard that in Accidents of this Nature, extraordinary care is to be observ'd, Duke Francis, by the Advice of the most learned Physicians, forced him to keep his Chamber for above three Months; during which time he was visited daily by all of both Sexes, which were of the greatest Rank and Quality in the Court. Yet this was observ'd that the King never went to see him, notwithstanding he appeared so very much concern'd at this Accident, when the sad Tidings were first brought him.

The Pyrenean Peace was concluded the following Year. Cardinal *Mazarin*, and Don *Louis Mendez de Haro*, one for the King of France, and the other for the King of Spain, being assembled in the Island of *Faijum*\*, concluded at length, after many Conferences, a War, which had been kindled for a long time between those two Princes. In this Treaty of Peace, Don *Louis* consented to leave to the King of France, the Dukedom of *Bar*, the County of *Clermont*, and to permit him to demolish

\*This is an Island made by a River called *Basson*, which comes out of the *Pyrenean Hills*, and empties it self into the Sea near *Fons arabic*. This River separates France from Spain.

the

the Fortifications of *Nanci*, provided that he would restore to *Charles* the Fourth the Dukedom of *Lorrain*. There were some other Articles also in this Treaty, which were not very advantagious for that Prince. So that the Duke, who was yet a Prisoner at *Toledo*, complained to the King of *Spain*, that his Concerns were disposed of without his being made privy to it. But in regard his Catholick Majesty held no Correspondence with him, and that he lookt upon him as a Prince, of whom he had no reason to be afraid in any respect, thought it sufficient to give him his Liberty, with a slight Intimation that he had serv'd his Interest, as far as he judged it necessary for the good of Christendom: That what was done, could not be otherwise done, and that he must rest himself contented with his Destiny. This Answer of the King of *Spain*, though brisk, and highly disobliging, yet it was not the only hard measure in the Proceedings of that Monarch. He ordered these things to be told him by one of his Ministers; and though the Duke took a Journey to *Madrid* to see him, he would not admit him into his Presence; apprehending, without doubt, that the Duke would reproach him with his Injustice and Ingratitude, which had over-rul'd him to deprive a Prince of his Liberty, who had sought his Protection, and who had totally lost his Principality, for having been but too much united to the Interest of *Spain*. In somuch that the Duke perceiving that there was not the least likelihood of making his  
Com-

plaint to the Catholick King, he departs with all speed for the Island of *Conference*, with a design to complain to Don *Lewis de Haro* of the Injury which he had received. But whatever Words he could use to aggravate this Injustice, he could receive no other Satisfaction from the Spanish Minister than a sad Acknowledgment, that he could not possibly conclude the Peace for him in a more advantageous manner, than as it was done already. The Duke had recourse in this extremity to Cardinal *Mazarine*, who drew up his Objections to the *Pyraenean* Treaty. But in regard the Duke was still in the Hands of Don *Lewis*, and that the Cardinal had his Reasons why he would not serve him any farther in that Affair; he was obliged, though never so dissatisfied, to consent to the Treaty, and to sign it, for fear he might run the risk of a worse Fortune.

In the mean time, the Cardinal heaped Civilities upon him, and always treated him like a Prince. He flattered him with great hopes, and made him sensible, that the thing depended so absolutely upon the King, wholly to establish him in his Dominions, and restore his House to its pristine Lustre and Dignity, that he got his consent to return into *France*; where being stript of his Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, yet he had the same Honours paid, which are usually renderd to Princes who are Sovereigns in their own Country: But these were but outward Civilities, he was neer the less unfortunate for all these shews.

The



The Fruit of the *Pyrenean* Peace was the Marriage of *Lewis XIV.* with the Infanta of *Spain*. For in regard that great People never Marry but out of Policy, and that this Marriage was the Knot which was to unite that Peace which had been so much desired, and which the People had so long wish'd for ; the Queen did agree to it without any difficulty. But this we may say, That he Espoused this Princess without having the least Inclination for her. Not but that the Portraiture which had been given of the new Queen, might be capable enough to move him. But the King was in Love with *Madamoiselle de Mancini*, Niece to Cardinal *Mazarin* ; who, though she was a Woman of great Wit, yet she was no ways well made. So that it was the common saying of the Town concerning her, that you no sooner heard her Discourse but you forgot she was Deformed, and Men could not avoid, but they must Love her ; so that it was no wonder the King was so taken with her.

And as *Madamoiselle de Mancini* answer'd the Kings Friendship, so the King Lov'd her in so tender a manner, that he had undoubtedly Married her, if Princes upon such emergent Occasions, might be Masters of themselves.

The whole Court began to discover plainly the great Passion which that King had for the Cardinals Niece ; For he paid his Affiduties to her in the view of all the World. His Complaisances extended so far, and he made her such Magnificent Presents, that the Queen Mother was alarum'd at it. For she, being a Spaniard, since the Death of  
*Lewis*

*Lewis XIII.* had labour'd nothing more, than to conclude a War, which could not but prove fatal to her, on which side soever the Advantages fell; and she saw moreover, that all her Endeavours for the Peace would be utterly Ruin'd, if the King did not wholly forget *Mademoiselle de Mancini*, and Marry the Infanta of Spain.

'Tis true, the Cardinal, as all Men might easily Judge, would never have been sorry to have seen his Niece the Kings Companion in the Royal Throne. But whether it were that he was willing to yield a blind Obedience to the Queen; or that he fear'd least the King, coming at length to dislike his own Act and Deed, should one day null the Marriage, he was the first that dispossest *Mademoiselle de Mancini* of those vain Thoughts which she had, that the King intended to Marry her, and he drove on the Business so vigorously, that a March was concluded with the Infanta.

The King however had much ado to consent to an Alliance that was to resettle a Peaceful Calm between two Potent Monarchies. For he still felt the same Inclinations for *Mademoiselle de Mancini*, which he had for her, ever since the day that he first began to have a Passion for her. Of which he gave her such sensible Marks, as left her no room to question his Affection: And both the Queen and the Cardinal sufficiently perceived it.

Nevertheless, in regard the Marriage was determin'd, and that there wanted nothing but the Performance of the Ceremonies, the Court prepared all things ready for their departure

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toward the Frontiers, to receive the new Queen. The Cardinal also design'd to set forward first of all, and to carry his Niece along with him, to remove her out of the Kings sight, fearing least her presence should put a stop to his Journey, and obstruct the grand Design of Establishing Peace over all *Europe*.

On the other side the King could not without an extraordinary turbulency of his Thoughts, support the violent Separation from him of a Person whom he preferr'd in his Affections before all the Princesses in the World. But in regard there was no Remedy, he retir'd to *Chantilli* for some days; from whence he did nothing but send Messenger upon Messenger to *Mademoiselle de Mancini*, till she was gone.

At length *Mademoiselle de Mancini* departed the City, and the Cardinal her Uncle, who knew well the Force which he put upon her, endeavour'd, during the whole Journey, to persuade her to make a Conquest of her self, and extinguish a Passion that began to grow Criminal: He laid before her all those Reasons which she had to induce her to vanquish her extravagant Ambition, and declar'd at length, that he had a design to Marry her to the Prince of *Lorrain*.

And indeed, when *Charles* the IV. was a Prisoner in *Spain*, he had himself made that Proposal to Cardinal *Mazarin*, who having given his Consent upon the first Motion, had engag'd to gain the Kings Consent to Re-establish him in his Territories. And he had certainly done it: For at that time the Cardinals Favour was vastly great. But in regard, that when the Duke

Duke was in *France*, he thought no more of the Match, which he made appear by his Carriage toward the Cardinal; for he never so much as spoke to him of it afterwards, though it were an Overture of his own making; the Cardinal was so incens'd at this Contempt of his, which appear'd to him so Fantastical, that far from inclining the King to make a Treaty with the Duke to his Advantage, he instill'd into him such an Aversion for that Prince, that from that time forward they only amused him from time to time with fair Promises of what he desir'd, without ever minding to give him Satisfaction.

On the other side, Duke *Francis*, whose Designs were altogether opposite to those of Duke *Charles* his Brother, considering that there was no surer course for him to take, than to seek the Friendship and Support of Cardinal *Mazarin*, and that he could not incline that Minister to afford him his Protection by any way more Advantageous, than that of a Match between the Prince his Son, and Mademoiselle *de Mancini*, resolv'd to propose it; which he did effectually. True it is, That as he would have been glad to have ascertain'd the Possession of the Territories of *Lorrain* to Prince *Charles*, by a more secure way, so would he have been better pleas'd than *Charles IV.* would have Consented to have Marry'd with the Princess. To which purpose he propos'd the Business to him, before he made a Step in order to the Cardinals Niece. But the Duke would by no means listen to him; and then it was, that he Married that Princess to the Prince of *Lislebonne*.

But Mademoiselle *de Mancini* was not long

before she return'd to *Paris*. At what time the Cardinal, who earnestly desir'd to Match her, that he might wean the Kings so openly testifi'd Affection from her, gave order to *Madam de Venelle*, her Governess, to remove her immediately from the Country of *Aunis*, where she then Resid'd; and his orders were no less punctually obey'd.

Now in regard she was in high Esteem, not only for the Figure which Cardinal *Mazarin* made in *France*, but for her own proper Merits, and the Reputation she had gain'd by being Belov'd by the King, all the great Personages in *Paris* that had not followed the Court which was then at *Tholouze*, made it one of their chiefest Concerns to link themselves to her Friendship, and be her continual Visitants. Of this number the Prince of *Lorrain* was One, and his Sedulity shew'd that he apply'd himself to her in a more particular manner than the rest. And this was by the advice of *Madam de Choisi*, a Woman of deep Intreague. This Lady, cordial to the Interests of Duke *Francis*, was perswaded, That if Prince *Charles* could gain the Affection of *Mademoiselle de Mantua*, the Cardinal could not do otherwise but Marry her according to his own Inclination; nor was there any question but that the King would approve the Match.

To this purpose, at the same time that the young Prince us'd all his Endeavours to gain her Affection, *Madam de Choisi*, who had made it her own Business, set her Friends underhand, to instill into the Cardinals Niece, that besides, that Prince *Charles* was to be consider'd as a Prince who had a Claim to the Dutchies of

*Lorrain*



*Lorrain* and *Bar* more firmly Grounded than only to flatter his Ambition, there was no other way to free her self from a kind of Slavery, wherein she languish'd under the Queen Mother and the Cardinal her Uncle, with whom she was forc'd to live in a kind of close Confinement.

*Mademoiselle de Mancini* knew all that very well, and besides she saw that Prince *Charles* was a goodly Person. She lookt upon his Courting her, as a thing that might be Advantageous to her; and delighted in his Company. But she was as yet so little inclin'd to entertain a new Passion, that she knew her self to be insensible of all the Prince's Applications. The fall that threatn'd her was too steep to be so soon forgot. Nevertheless, as it was a difficult thing to make a long Resistance against so brave a Prince as the Prince of *Lorrain*, *Mademoiselle de Mancini* grew sensible at length, that she Lov'd him a little more than she had done. She was Charm'd with his Assiduities; and by Degrees she began to accustom her self to take no delight but in his Company. And in regard, that *Madam de Venelle* wou'd not permit the Prince to visit his Mistress in her own House; there was not a day past, but he gave her a Meeting either in some Church, or in the *Tuilleries*. In short, her Passion for the Prince became so vehement, that she told the Cardinal her Uncle one Day, That she would either Marry the Prince, or shut her self up in a Nunnery.

Certain it is, That Cardinal *Mazarin* had consented to the Marriage. For though it had

not been so advantageous for his Niece as it was, the Queen-Mother press'd him with so much importunity to marry out of the Kingdom, that being out of his Eye, the King might the sooner forget her, that the Cardinal would never have made the least Hesitation; besides, that he passionately desir'd the Match. But in regard the Cardinal was haughty, tho' desirous otherwise to appear very moderate in things that regarded his own Interest, to make the World believe he only study'd the Interests of the King his Master, yet he could have wish'd that the Duke would have sincerely sought his Alliance for Prince Charles; but the Duke oppos'd it. In a word, the Duke having peirc'd into his Nephews design, and fearing least the Prince, by vertue of the Match in Agitation, should receive from the Cardinal those Advantages which might turn to his Prejudice, he utterly disappointed all the Princes measures: and then it was that the Cardinal marry'd his Niece to Constable Colonna, who had demanded her in Wedlock sometime before, by the Adresses of Marquis Angeli. Or rather it may be said that he banish'd her into Italy against his own will, and with a despair so violent, that he could not forbear reproaching the King, with the want of Courage he had shewn upon her account.

Nevertheless, the Duke of Lorrain forbore not giving many Testimonies to Prince Charles of his Kind Intentions towards him; affirming that if he had cross'd him in his Marriage, it was only to procure him a more honourable Alliance; and that his design indeed was, to Marry

ry him with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, the Eldest Daughter by the first Wedlock to the deceased Duke of Orleans\*.

\* The D.  
of Orl-

ance died at Blois Feb 2. 1660. In the Year 1626. he marry'd Mary of Bourbon, the only Daughter of Henry of Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, Dauphin of Auvergne; and by her he had *Mademoiselle*.

And fearing least it would be said, that all these Discourses were only feign'd to amuse the Prince, he caus'd the Proposal to be made at the same time to the Princess; and to convince her that he was in good Earnest, and that there was nothing in the world which he more passionately desired, he caused a farther Proposal to be made her, that if she would consent to Marry his Nephew, he would in favour of her, surrender up all his Territories to him, reserving only a Pension of a hundred Thousand Crowns.

The Cardinal to whom the Address was made, as much incens'd as he was against the Duke of Lorraine, declared at the same instant that he was well pleas'd with the Proposal, and that he would omit nothing that lay in his Power that might induce *Mademoiselle* to accept it.

In short, whither the Cardinal feign'd his Approbation of the business, or whither he believed the Match to be for the Princesses advantage, or that he intended to sound the Duke's Integrity, he wrought with the King to depute Monsieur de Lionne to treat about the Affair with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier's* Counsell. But the Duke, always Irresolute, far from

\* The Cardinal died at *Vincennes*, Mar. 9. 1661. in the 59 year of his Age.

coming to any Conclusion, started so many difficulties, that the Cardinal \* died, before any thing could be fully resolved upon.

However, in regard that Monsieur *de Guise* solicited the Cardinal to incline the King to some Accommodation with the Duke of *Lorraine*, he that had been a long time sick, and despair'd of Recovery, thought it now high time, upon the brink of Death, to make his peace with God, and that he had sufficiently revenged himself of the Duke, by drilling him on so long and only feeding him with Promises. So that about three or four days before his Death the Duke concluded and sign'd a particular Treaty with the King, of which the substance was, 1. That he should be restored to the Dutchies's of *Lorraine* and *Barr*. Wherein nevertheless the King should still keep possession of the Grand Road or \* Passage, extending from the Entrances into his Dutchies next to *Stenai*, quite through his Countries into *Germany*, which should remain in Sovereignty to the King. 2. That the Fortifications of *Nanci* should be demolished. 3. That the Towns of *Stenai*, *Clermont*, *Jarnets* and *Dun* should continue in Propriety to *France*. 4. That the Duke should disarm all his Soldiers and Militia, except his Regiment of Guards and Light Horse, and some Companies of Foot for the Preservation of such Garisons as remain'd in his hands. 5. That the Duke should not repair the Fortifications of *Nanci*, nor make any New Fortifications about any other Town within his Territories, without leave of the King, nor give any Protection to any of the King's Subjects, contrary to his Majesties pleasure. These

\* This Passage is a Road not above half a League broad, but little less than Thirty Leagues in length.

These were the principal Conditions, to the Severity of which the Duke was oblig'd to consent, that he might regain his Principality of *Bar*; his Friends having generally advis'd him to accept them, for fear, lest under the sway of some other Minister of State, he might meet with far greater Obstructions.

No sooner had the Duke sign'd the Treaty, but he departed into his own Dominions; and to the end Prince *Charles* might have no reason to complain of him, upon the Marriage propounded with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, he declared to him, that he always earnestly desired it, and to remove all suspicions, he sent at the same time a full Power in writing under his Hand and Seal to the Duke of *Guise* to conclude the Articles, upon the same Conditions which he himself had propos'd.

The Princess was overjoy'd at this Marriage: she found in Prince *Charles* all the Noble Qualities she could desire; and besides, the Condescension of the Duke his Uncle seem'd to be no small advantage to her. On the other side, considering the Condition of the House of *Lorrain* at that time, it was the greatest good Fortune that could befall it, in order to a Re-establishment; for besides the Greatness of the Alliance, *Mademoiselle* had a plentiful Estate. And therefore as all people desired the Match, so all endeavour'd to bring it to a Conclusion. Prince *Charles* every day paid his Visits to *Mademoiselle*. On the other side the Princess took delight in his Assiduities. All the Court took it for granted that every thing was agreed upon; but when all things were ready for Consummation, Prince *Charles* fell in Love with  
*Ma-*



*Mademoiselle d'Orleanse*, a Princess Young and of surpassing Beauty: to which may be added, that having been bred together, their Affections had taken root along time before. And indeed, to speak the Truth, *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* was a little too far advanced in years to inflame so Youthful a Prince. And as certain it was, that *Mademoiselle d'Orleanse* was design'd the Prince of *Tuscany*; the King himself being for engaged to make the Match, and it being also his Interest to see it concluded. Of all which Prince *Charles* could not be ignorant: But being of an Age not apt to make reflexions, he gave himself blindly over to a domineering Passion, not considering that he forgot his own Interests to run after a *Chimera*; since it was a Conquest impossible for him to make: and this was that which caused him so much to slight *Madam de Montpensier*, that the World took notice of it.

All that were concerned for the Interest of the Young Prince were alarm'd at his manner of proceeding. They said, that he posted visibly to his own Detriment and the ruine of his Affairs. It was laid before him, that he acted to his Uncles wish, whose design it was to cross his Marriage, so he might not be seen to be in the fault; to the end that by that means he might secure the Succession of his Territories to his Son the Prince of *Vaudemont*. They gave him to understand that he laboured inconsiderately, to loose himself not only in the Kings good will, who had a high esteem for him, but also in the Affection of all the *Lorrainers*, who looking upon him as their Deliverer, would cast of all that Love and Endearment which they had shewed him upon several

veral Occasions, when they should come to be informed, that for a passion impossible to succeed, he had renounced the Re-establishment of his House, and the repose of a Languishing People, that had their Eyes fix'd only upon him. They told him at length, that being presumptive Heir of *Lorrain*, he ow'd himself entirely to his Subjects; that he ought to think of no other Alliance but such a one as might be for their Consolation, and to redeem them from their Miseries; and that, in short, he was to put a force upon his Inclinations. But in regard that *Mademoiselle d'Orleance* was the only Object that possessed his Soul, he would not listen to any thing that could be said concerning Her; or if he did hearken sometimes, 'twas only to answer, that he did not think he was oblig'd to sacrifice himself to the publick; and that a Prince was in an ill Condition, that was bound to be miserable all his Life, to procure the uncertain Welfare of his Subjects.

Now that which confirm'd him in his Obstinate Resolution to Court that Princess, was this, that he met with some Persons, who designing to make mischief between the King, *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, and himself, sed him with vain hopes, that he might find a thousand ways to compass his Desires. 'Twas true, they told him, that the King had given his Word to the Duke of *Tuscany*, for the Prince, his Son; but they flatter'd him at the same time, that if he persisted in his Pursuit, the King would fall off at last from his Promise; that he was not so fond of the Match as Men imagin'd; and that he knew well, that an Heir to the Dutchies  
of

of *Lorraine* and *Bar* was as good as the Prince of *Tuscany*.

On the other side, the great Affection which *Madamoiselle d'Orleance* manifested for the Prince of *Lorraine*, and her Reluctancy to Marry the Prince of *Tuscany*, contributed not a little to make him the more eager in his Design. He knew that the young Princess had open'd her Heart to the Dutchess of *Orleance* her Mother; that she had not conceal'd the tender Kindness she had for him; that she had also discover'd to her the little Love she had for the Prince of *Tuscany*; and that it was the Dutchess's desire that her Daughter might be left to her own Choice. But in regard the King took little care to satisfy the two Lovers, and that he only minded his own and the Interest of the Kingdom in this Affair, he prest so hard the Conclusion of the Marriage, at the very time that the Dutchess of *Orleance* was about to have declar'd her Mind to him, that he sent Monsieur de *Tellier* to her, to let her know that he had already Signed the Contract, and that there was a necessity for *Madamoiselle* within three or four days at most to take her Leave of the Court, and set forward for *Tuscany*; and that she must either resolve to obey, or prepare her self for a Nunnery: nor was there any Reply to be given to this. So that the Marriage with the Prince of *Tuscany* was concluded, as the King had contriv'd it, and *Madamoiselle d'Orleance* was sent away like *Madamoiselle de Mancini*, to end her days in *Italy*.

Prince *Charles*, thus disappointed of his Hopes on that side, there was nothing left for him to do,

do, but to put a Constraint upon his Inclinations, to forget *Mademoiselle d'Orleanse*, and to endeavour the regaining the Affections of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, which without difficulty he might have effected. But by I know not what strange Blindness, that always accompanies vehement Passions, he was so far from taking that prudent Course, that he openly bewail'd his hard Fate, and privately withdrawing himself from his Father, some days after that the new Princess had begun her Journey, away he posted to overtake her at *St. Fargeau*, whither *Mademoiselle* had carry'd her, to take her last Farewell of her. And this was that which compleated the Ruine of his Affairs. For *Mademoiselle* soon perceiv'd, that 'twas not for her's, but solely for her Sisters sake, that the Prince had taken that small Journey; and therefore could not forbear to make it known to all the World.

Now though Prince Charles had so little Inclination to Marry *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, yet all the Court would not believe but that the Duke of Lorrain was the only cause of it; and that the Aversion which his Nephew had to that Alliaunce, was the Effect of his Contrivances. Neither did *Madam de Chevreuse*, (who conceal'd nothing from the Duke, as being wholly devoted to his Interests) dissemble it; one day to him, but told him, 'twas the general Report that was spread abroad. She also declar'd, that the Queen Mother seem'd to be convinc'd, that he underhand made it his Business to cross the Conclusion of that Match; and that notwithstanding all the Reasons she could alledge in his Justifi-

Justification, she could not persuade her to the contrary.

Now in regard it was the Duke of *Lorraine's* Interest that the Queen Mother should be dispossess'd of those thoughts, he revolv'd in his Mind a thousand Contrivances which way to undeceive her. And at length having bethought himself of going with his Nephew to Visit *Madam de Chevreuse*, where he had also appointed to meet *Mademoiselle de Guise*, they were no sooner enter'd into Discourse, but *Madam de Chevreuse* cunningly engag'd the Prince in the Story of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, as it was laid before hand.

And then it was that the Duke, who knew Prince *Charles's* Aversion to that Princess, believ'd that his Nephew would make no scruple to open his Mind before those Ladies, who being Witnesses of what they heard themselves, would be able to inform the Queen.

The Prince stood upon slippery Ground. For besides that he had not foreseen the Ambuscado's that were laid for him, *Madam de Chevreuse*, who was the Lady of the Court, that had the most Vivacity and Wit, chang'd the Discourse with so much dexterity, made use of so many windings and turnings, utter'd things so pleasing, and charg'd the young Prince so home on every side, that 'twas to be fear'd the subtle Lady would infallibly have compass'd her Ends. But the Duke perceiving the Snare, kept himself so well upon the Reserve, and so neatly dissembled his Reluctancy to Marry *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, though sometimes his Countenance betray'd



tray'd his Expressions, that Madam *de Chevreuse* was at a loss. However she made a fresh Onset, and told him with a Thousand pleasing Insinuations, that she was perswaded he did but disguise his Thoughts, and that his Lips betray'd his Heart. But she could draw nothing from him, but that he Passionately desir'd the Match might be concluded, and that the Duke would always persevere in his Desires of procuring him so great an Advantage. Withal, he requested her to atone the Queen Mother in his Behalf, that his Design might not miscarry, and at the same time to wait upon Mademoiselle *de Montpensier*, and make her sensible of the Falshood of what his Enemies had imprinted in her Mind, that his Affections were never real toward her.

And now Prince Charles, who saw full well from that time forward, that Madam *de Chevreuses* design was to ruin him with the Queen Mother, by causing her to withdraw that Kindness which till then she had for him, at length believ'd there was no other way to avoid falling into Disgrace, but to apply himself in good Earnest to Mademoiselle *de Montpensier*. Thereupon, he resolv'd at the same instant to try his utmost; and he not only listen'd to the Counsels of his Friends, by all the was imaginable to endeavour the appeasing of a Princess, that took all occasions to manifest her just resentment of his past Behaviour, but he follow'd those Counsels so punctually, and made so many fair Steps to the Mark he aim'd at, that Mademoiselle some days after began to find in her self, that she was not so much incens'd as she thought she had been.

And

And indeed, there was all the Probability in the World as the Prince began to follow his Business, that all things would have gone well again. But the Duke, who had an eye upon all his Actions, was not long before he perceiv'd his Intentions; and in regard that according to the Conditions which himself had propos'd to *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, the Match could not but be altogether to the disadvantage of his Son the Prince of *Vaudemont*, he left no Stone unturn'd to break it. But in regard he wanted a plausible Pretence, and that *Mademoiselle* had endeavour'd to inform herself concerning the Revenues of the Territories of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, and of the Security which she was to expect, in case the Duke should make a Resignation in favour of the Prince; the Duke made as if he look'd upon this to be such an Affront, that one day before a great Number of considerable Persons in the Palace of *Orleans*, he declar'd aloud, That since *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* was so scrupulous, he would keep his Territories, and never hear more of his Nephew's Marriage with her as long as he liv'd. The Prince was then present, when the Duke brake forth into this Passion; and in regard it would have been no great trouble to him, if there had been never any more mention of the Marriage, provided there appear'd no Opposition in him, and that he might still preserve the Queen Mothers favour, he was no sooner gone out of the Palace, but he hasten'd immediately to *Madam de Choisi*, to let her know in what a Chase he had left the Duke his Uncle.

Mademôis.

Mademoiselle *de Montpensier* had such an Aversion for Madam *de Choisi*, that she had often desir'd the Prince never to visit that Lady; and the Prince had Promis'd to gratifie her in that particular. And indeed, although at that time he were very indifferent whether he pleas'd or no, yet he was in some measure careful to make his Visit private. But in regard that Mademoiselle had her Spies continually upon him wherever he went, she was inform'd of it the same day, and took it so hainously, that she sent the next day two or three times for the Marquis of *Beauvau* to acquaint him with her Resentment, and complain of the Prince's breach of Promise.

The Marquis, in two or three Discourses which he had the same day with Mademoiselle made use of all his Invention to excuse the Prince. But the Princess, admitting no Attonement, continu'd her Complaints, broke out into Reproaches, and in the height of her Indignation, not Mistress of her self, could not forbear with some Tears in her Eyes, to call the Prince Ungrateful, and to tell the Marquis he was unworthy the Affection, which she had been so weak as to shew him.

To this Monsieur *de Beauvau*, who plainly saw that as much incens'd as Mademoiselle *de Montpensier* seem'd to be, yet that she really lov'd the Prince, reply'd at the same time, That 'twas true, she had given him a terrible Alarm, but that he perceiv'd in her Eyes those Marks of an Inclination to Pardon the Prince of *Lorrain*, which convinced him, that upon the first Visit the Prince should pay her, she would not be

be offended if he endeavour'd to justify himself; and that she would forget a Crime, which as heinous as it seem'd to be, would vanish into nothing when it came to be examin'd. To which Mademoiselle answer'd only with a smile, and the Marquis who desir'd no more, took his leave well satisfy'd; and from thence went to wait upon the young Prince, with new Instructions, which he receiv'd like an apt Scholar.

In the mean while, the Duke of *Lorrain* understanding that Mademoiselle had sent two or three times for the Marquis of *Beauvau*, and not able to fathom the Reason of the Princess's being so earnest, was desirous to understand the Mystery, which the Marquis as soon unfolded to him: And withal he aggravated things so effectually, that the Duke, though he had begun a Quarrel with Mademoiselle, could not forbear blaming his Nephew, and to disapprove his Conduct. He found that he had done very ill in visiting *Madam de Choisi*, since he knew there was nothing in which he could more disoblige Mademoiselle: adding that he could not understand how a Prince that had any wit to understand his own Interests should so strangely forget himself. And after he had himself reprov'd him, the next day he admonish'd him for the future to carry himself with more observance towards Mademoiselle than he had done. He laid before him all the Advantages which that Match would procure to the House of *Lorrain*: and for three or four days he was so eager to bring it to a Conclusion, that the Prince was really allur'd at it. For  
indeed

indeed considering the Condition of that young Prince, he knew not what it was he desir'd, or what not: Or rather, he always found in himself so great an Aversion to that Alliance, that he could have wish'd the Duke had never thought of procuring him that Advantage, after he had so strongly oppos'd it. Nevertheless, at the same time that the Duke appear'd so eager to Match the Prince with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, of a sudden he chang'd his Mind, and propos'd to Marry him with *Madam de Nemours de Longueville*, who was look'd upon to be above Six Millions richer than the other; but neither Young nor Handsome, and nothing near so well descended as *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*; and besides that, she was reputed a Woman not well in her Wits; for that many People look'd upon her to be freakish in her Humours.

But in regard the Duke had conceiv'd great Advantages from this Match, by reason of her extraordinary Wealth, though indeed she was not so rich a Fortune as *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, he caus'd one of his Gentlemen to treat first with a Female Friend of *Madam de Longueville*, to bring the Business about. The Gentleman acted according to his Commission, and found a Compliance to his Wishes. But the Gentleman was no sooner out of the Duke's Lodgings, but the Duke had alter'd his Mind, and so that Negotiation came to nothing: And *Madam Longueville's* Friend was not a little troubl'd, imagining the Duke's design to be only to make himself Sport, and to fool the Lady & herself. And indeed no body knew where the Duke intended to fix his Eyes; and the greatest part



of those that were of this Mind, imagin'd that he had not any one particularly in view, but that he only design'd to lull his Nephew asleep. Yet two days after he explain'd himself, and declar'd that the reason which oblig'd him to alter his Mind was, because he had a Proposal made him for Marrying the Prince with Mademoiselle de Nemours, the Duke of Vendosme's youngest Daughter.

This Proposal had been effectually made him, and he had at first rejected it; but presently after his Gentleman was gone to treat with Madam de Longueville's Friend, reflecting more seriously, he look'd upon it as a Match so Advantageous, that he could have no reason to demurr in consenting to it; so much the rather because he was in hopes of Marrying the Prince of Vaudemont to Mademoiselle d'Aumale her Sister. Besides, that Mademoiselle de Nemours, not being of that High Rank as Mademoiselle de Montpensier, he should not be bound to resign his Territories in favour of his Nephew. On the other side, Madam de Nemours, Mother of the two Princesses, openly declar'd that she desir'd nothing more than such a Double Alliance with the House of Lorrain. And with this Design, she often went to visit Madam de Choisi, who had a great Ascendant over the Prince. More than that, the Queen Mother had approv'd the Proposal. And there was great likelihood, that Mademoiselle de Nemours would be no less acceptable to the Prince; for she was Young, and surpassingly Beautiful.

Thus all things seem'd to concur with the Designs of those that made the Proposal; but  
Duke

Duke *Francis*, and Madam the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* were Obſtacles in the way ; who neither of them could reliſh the Propoſal of Marriage. The Duke was abſolutely deſirous that his Son ſhould keep cloſe to *Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier*, hoping that if he perſiſted, he would not fail to regain the Favour of that Princeſs, and that the Duke his Brother would not recoil from his word, ſince he had engag'd it to the King. And in caſe the Match with *Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier* did not ſucceed, the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* was then for Marrying the Prince to *Mademoiſelle d'Alanſon*, her Daughter.

During theſe Amorous Intrigues, the Nobility of *Lorrain*, ſent two Commiſſioners to the Duke to lay before him their right to certain Privileges which he denied them, believing that the Opportunity of the Matches propos'd for the Prince, would be favourable for their purpoſe. But the Duke would by no means hear them. And therefore judging that his preſence was neceſſary in *Lorrain*, where he was afraid of threatening Commotions, he departed from *Paris* ſomedays after the *Lorrain* Commiſſioners arrived ; and in regard he was in great haſte, he took his leave of no perſon living, not ſo much as of the King. However he left a Power in writing, under his Hand and Seal to conclude the Marriage of his Nephew with *Mademoiſelle de Nemours*, with this Reſtriction, that it ſhould not be a Match but upon Condition that Madam *de Nemours*, her Mother, would juſtify her to be worth two Millions, as ſhe had offer'd to do.

The Commiſſioners from *Lorrain*, of which one was the Count of *Mauleon*, made very con-

siderable offers also to Prince *Charles* of their Service, which he refused to accept. On the other side, his Friends having plainly made it appear to him, that the only course he had to take, was to reconcile himself with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, he resolved to follow their Advice. And manifestly seeing it was one of the greatest Advantages he could pretend to at that time, he labour'd thenceforward to regain her favour by all the ways of Observance and Submission imaginable.

Sometime after, the Count of *Furstenbergh* (now Cardinal *Furstenbergh*) was made privy to these Intrigues of the Prince of *Lorrain*; and in regard he was in good Esteem with *Mademoiselle*, the Prince desir'd him, after he had discover'd his mind to him, to make use of his Interest, to pacify her just Indignation, and to spare no means that might conduce thereto, there being nothing which he more desired then to be Marry'd to her.

The Count of *Furstenbergh*, as one that was glad to serve the Prince, undertook the Affair; and the next day, he gave a visit to *Mademoiselle*; and then it was that he set forth after such an insinuating manner the Prince's extreme sorrow, for having made so bad a use of his Good Fortune, and the Resolution he had taken to surrender himself wholly to her, that he soon discovered in the Countenance of the Princess, that she was no way displeased at his Mediation.

However, she could not dissemble to the Count the several occasions of dissatisfaction which the Prince of *Lorrain* had given her. She  
ripp't

ripp't up the whole History of what had passed between 'em ; and after she had spoken for sometime with heat enough, she added, in a softer tone, that she would endeavour to forget all the Injuries which the Prince had done her, and to give him a real token, that she had nothing of Anger against him, she would not complain to him of an Outrage, that had wounded her to the Soul, and which another Lady would have resented, perhaps as long as she had liv'd, how submissive soever the future Observance of the Prince might have been.

Now in regard that here she made a stop, the Count desired her to proceed, and tell him what it was. The Princess begg'd his Excuse at first ; but after a long Importunity, she told him at length, That the Prince of *Lorrain*, having by the means of one of her Gentewomen obtain'd her Picture, which was extremely like her, when she was but \* Sixteen years of Age, he made a Sacrifice of it to the Princess of *Tuscany* ; and that after all the most Injurious Jests and Flouts that both could utter upon the Difference of what she was then, and at the time when he courted her, they threw it into the Fire.

\* As which Age she was one of the greatest Beauties in the Court.

The Count of *Furstenburgh* made as if he could not believe the Story : telling her with all, that the Prince of *Lorrain* was too prudent a Person, so much to forget himself as to commit such a rudeness as that, and therefore that it was certainly some invention of his Enemies. In a word, that there was no Probability that Prince *Charles* could be capable of an Action of that Nature ;

and that if she pleased to permit him to satisfy himself of the Truth from the Prince's own Lips, he was convinced that the Prince would justify himself so well, that she should acknowledge the Mis-information. The Princess, fearing without question, that the Prince of *Lorrain* was not so Innocent as the Count would persuade her, at first refused her leave; but the Count of *Furstenberg* prest her with so much Importunity, that at length she condescended, and gave him Permission according to his desire.

So soon as the Count had taken his leave of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, he found out the *Marquis de Bourveau*, to whom he gave an Account of the Story of the Picture, which very much perplexed the Marquis; for he tenderly lov'd the Prince; and after they had argued for some time upon the Accident, they went both together to the Prince's Lodgings. Presently the Count of *Furstenberg* in few words gave him to understand the favourable Inclinations which *Mademoiselle* continued in his behalf, and then falling upon the Chapter of the Portraiture, he conjur'd the Prince to tell him whether the Story were certainly true or no, and whether the Picture were really thrown into the Fire, as *Mademoiselle* had made her Complaint. The Prince paused a while at first, and seem'd to be at a kind of stand. Of which the Marquis and the Count, desirous to take their Advantage, to the end they might the more easily make the intended Discovery, sisted him every way, without giving him leave to recover himself: but all they could get out of him, was, that the Picture had not that unhappy destiny



Story which Mademoiselle *de Montpensier* complain'd of; that intruth, he had it not in his possession; for that he had left it with the Princess of *Tuscany*; but that Mademoiselle did him wrong to think he was capable to violate with so much contempt, and after so unworthy a manner, the Portraiture of so great a Princess as her self; that it was a malicious Story which his Enemies had forg'd, to render him Odious to her; and that if they desired any clearer Satisfaction, they needed no more but to address themselves to Mademoiselle *de Fирtoi*, who had been always the great Confident of Mademoiselle *d'Orleance*, before she was Marry'd to the Prince of *Tuscany*.

The Mother of Mademoiselle *de Fирtoi* was a *Lorrainer*, and Wife of the first Squire to Madam the Dutches of *Orleance*. Now besides that for these Reasons, she was highly for the Marriage of the Prince with Mademoiselle *de Montpensier*, and consequently would be willing to justify him against any accusation that redounded to her Detriment, the Marquis *de Bouveau* was particularly acquainted with her, and therefore having taken it upon him, resolved to visit her the same day.

Madam *de Fирtoi* was no sooner informed of the matter by the Marquis, but she sent for her Daughter to understand the Truth of the Story. And indeed Mademoiselle *de Fирtoi* was at a stand at First; but being prest by her Mother, she presently told her, that she needed not take care for the Picture; for that she had it in her Cabinet. In short, her Mother having commanded her to give it the Marquis, to do with it,

it, as he should think Convenient she delivered it into his Hands.

The Marquis of *Beauveau* was extremely satisfy'd with his happy Success, and immediately carried the Fatal Picture to the Count of *Furstenberg*, to the end that by shewing it to Mademoiselle, he might convince her of the Falshood and Calumny of the Story. He acquitted himself exactly of his Commission; telling Mademoiselle that the Prince of *Lorraine* had never parted with the Picture out of his possession; that he had always kept it most charily; and that he always carried it about him. And tho' the Princess suspected at first that there was some juggle in the case, and that it was but a Copy; it was so easy a thing to disabuse her in that particular, that the Count found it no hard matter to do it.

There was all the Reason to hope, after such an Illustration as this, so happily manag'd, that Mademoiselle *de Montpensier* would have condescended to whatever the Prince of *Lorraine* could desire: and indeed his Affairs were never in a better Condition: Mademoiselle took delight in his Company; and it may be said, that they look'd upon themselves already as by Destiny Appointed the one for the other. But the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had tasted the sweets of Sovereignty, and therefore would not strip himself of his Territories, started so many Obstructions every day, that Mademoiselle tir'd out with so many various Irresolutions and tedious Delays, would no more hear talk of the Marriage. And that which utterly spoil'd all, and made her to break off all Conversation with the

the Prince, was this, that the King at the same time rigorously Exacting the performance of the Treaty at *Vincennes*, constrain'd the Duke to demolish the Fortifications of *Nancy*, which could not chuse but offend her, and make her disgust the Marriage. And thus was the Prince of *Lorrain* defeated of all his Hopes, for not vigorously driving on his own Affairs till it was too late: though in all likelihood this Match would never have come to any thing; for that they who understood Affairs, were of opinion, that the King himself oppos'd it under-hand.

The Queen Mother therefore seeing that all the Preventive Care that had been taken till that very time, had prov'd ineffectual, and that there was no way to bring the Business about again, thought she could not do better then to concern her self in the Duke of *Lorrain's* Design of Marrying his Nephew with *Mademoiselle de Nemours*. And indeed in regard the Queen Mother had a great Love for *Madam de Nemours* the Princess's Mother, she laboured with an extraordinary sedulity to bring about the Match. And to the end she might omit nothing that could contribute to the success of her Design, she so vehemently importun'd the King then at *Fontainebleau*, to speak to the Duke of *Guise*, and to write to Duke *Francis* then at *Paris*, that the King immediately dispatch'd away one of the Priviledg'd Gentlemen of his Guards with a Letter to Duke *Francis*, wherein he let him know how well he was pleas'd with the Match, and therefore desir'd him to come and Confer with him about it as soon as possible he could.

But

But Duke *Francis* having a Reluctancy to this Match, pretended an Indisposition of Body, that he might not be oblig'd to attend the King. For he always flatter'd himself that his Son might Marry *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*, and therefore his design was to gain time, and to take his own, to break the Queen's Measures, who earnestly labour'd in behalf of *Madamoiselle de Nemours*. But the King having written to him a second Letter, more positive than the former, he was constrain'd to repair to *Fontainbleau*.

Now though Duke *Francis* did not absolutely say that he was against the Match, nevertheless he made it appear, that he had no great Inclination to it. And the King who was not ignorant of his Reluctancy, yet unwilling to make use of Compulsion, thought it sufficient to let him understand by a great number of Reasons, that he oppos'd the Happiness of the Prince his Son, since there was no more to be expected from *Madam de Montpensier*. And to render his Reasons the more effectual, he promis'd him, that if he would condescend to the Match, so firmly to engage the Duke his Brother to secure the Possession of his Territories to the Prince his Son, that he might depend upon it. His design being, to take all manner of Security; to have it pass by an Authentick Declaration in the Contract of Marriage, and in a manner so binding, that the Duke should never be able to revoke it, in regard that he himself would be the Guarantee.

These last Words of the King began to make Duke *Francis* totter, but that which absolutely made him give his Consent to the Match, was

a Letter to the Duke of *Guise*, wherein the Duke of *Lorraine* had written to him, that if the Duke his Brother did not resolve to Marry his Son to the Princess of *Nemours*, and that before the King set forward for *Bretagne*, which would be within a few days, he would revoke the Power given to him to Sign the Contract of Marriage in his Name. So that every thing being ready prepar'd, Monsieur *Lionne*, together with the Messieurs de *Guise*, and Archbishop of *Laon*, (afterwards Cardinal d'*Estrees*) went to the Lodgings of Duke *Francis*, there to pass the Contract of Marriage as it was concluded at *Fontainebleau*, under the Conditions agreed on both sides. So that the Contract was Sign'd by Monsieur *Lionne*, in the Name of the King; by Monsieur de *Guise*, in the Name of the Duke of *Lorraine*; and by the Bishop of *Laon*, in the Name of Madam de *Nemours*, for Mademoiselle de *Nemours* her Daughter.

In the mean time the Queen Mother earnestly wishing to see the Marriage concluded, which was only in dead colours as yet, and fearing lest the Duke of *Lorraine* should change his mind, obtain'd of the King immediately to dispatch away a Courier, to give him notice to send his Ratification in due form, or else to desire him, to take himself a Journey to *Paris*, to put his last helping hand to the Affair. The Duke of *Guise* also sent a Gentleman to give him a particular Account of what had past. But though the Duke of *Lorraine* had himself most earnestly desir'd this Fortune for the Prince, his Nephew, and that he had made the first Proposal, yet was he so vexatiously mad,  
that



that the Business was so far driven forward, that he sent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Guise*, to let him know, that he had made too much haste, and that he was extremely surpriz'd that he had no sooner notice of it, to the end he might have given him new Instructions. However this did not hinder him from Writing to the King that he would be in *Paris*, within a few days, as indeed he was; but it was only with a design to cross the Marriage, and to break it quite off, if it were possible.

But though he did not openly declare his mind, the King, who easily guess'd his Intentions, not only by others, but also in Person frequently propos'd to him, that he would give him all the Assurances he could reasonably desire, and that he would manage things so well, that all should be for the Advantage of his Family. But in regard, that that was not the thing which he desir'd, he started still so many new Difficulties, that the Prince of *Lorrain* began to despair.

For he, by often visiting *Madamoiselle de Nemours* was become passionately inamour'd of her, and from that time forward there was nothing which he more desir'd then the Enjoyment of that Princess. And therefore perceiving that the Business, as far advanced as it was, in stead of being brought to a speedy Conclusion, was spun out with insupportable Delays; and fearing also, lest in the end he should be disappointed of this Match, as he had been of all the rest, he was quite out of heart; more especially finding that all his Submissions to the Duke prov'd ineffectual. One Obstacle was no sooner remov'd, but another sprung up  
in

in the place, so that the Prince despairing of ever being happy with *Mademoiselle de Nemours*, so long as the Business depended upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, he went to the King, by the Advice of the Queen Mother, and besought him with so much importunity to oblige the Duke to come to a Conclusion, and to remove the Obstacles which he started every moment, that the King immediately promis'd to make it his business, and to follow it so close, that he should have no cause to complain of his neglect.

In short, the King, who had himself made the Match, by the Consent of the Duke of *Lorrain*, was so incens'd at his Shifts and Evasions, that the Prince was no sooner gone, but he resolv'd to make use of all his Authority, and slight all the Reasons which the Duke alledg'd to spin out the Business. Nevertheless, considering presently after, that it was better to proceed in a fair way, if it were possible, he endeavour'd by all the Arguments imaginable, to perswade the Duke that it was his best Course to come to a Conclusion. To which purpose he order'd *Monsieur Lion* to manage him; who had several Conferences with him to that end. But those Conferences proving fruitless, he sent the *Marshal d'Esrees*, *Mademoiselle's* Uncle, to him; who had no better success than *Monsieur de Lion*. So that the King, at length tir'd out with his delays, sent him Word, That it was his Desire that the Marriage of his Nephew should be concluded within three Days at farthest; and therefore, if he would not give his voluntary Consent, he would interpose his own Royal Authority, without consulting him any more. This Resolution inflam'd the Duke;  
and

and though he durst not complain of the King, yet he made loud complaints of his Nephew. He told the Marshal *d'Estrees*, That the Prince did very ill to make his Applications to the King, to procure him to threaten force upon his Inclinations: That he wish'd with all his Heart, he were Marry'd to the Princess of *Nemours*, but he had very strong Reasons not to be too hasty in the Affair, and that he might one day repent of putting him upon Extremities. To this the Marshal Answer'd, That the Prince was no ways concern'd in the Matter, and that he accus'd him unjustly: To which the Duke made no other Reply, but that his Nephew went the way to loose all; that he should have let him had a Breathing time for some Days, and not have driven on with such a violent Career. So that the Marshal perceiving, that such a force upon his obstinate Will, would put him upon some desperate design, endeavour'd to pacifie him as much as he could, and took his leave, with a promise, That he would endeavour to perswade the King to retract what he had said; adding withal, to justify the Prince, That the King had taken that Resolution of his own accord; and that indeed, he might see himself, that after he had only amus'd his Majesty with Words, when he had positively promis'd that he would sincerely labour the Conclusion of the Match, it was no wonder his Majesty should grow a little Impatient. So that the Marshal having importun'd the King to stay Seven or Eight Days more without pressing the Duke, he condescended to his Request. And this delay it was, to which the King however did not condescend without

an extraordinary Reluctancy, that quite broke off the Match, and reduc'd the House of *Lorrain* to that sad Condition, wherein it is at this day. For the Duke, from that time forward, minding nothing else but to revenge the supposed Injury which he had receiv'd from his Nephew, took a Resolution so strange, as never could have been expected from him, and which Posterity will hardly believe, considering the bad usage he had receiv'd from *France*.

But that which exasperated the Duke, was the Haughtiness of *Lewis XIV.* who making use of his Power, had been a little too quick with him, as already has been said, in declaring so positively to him, that he would interpose his Authority, in case he persisted obstinately to oppose the Marriage, or started any new Difficulties to delay it. But this was to drive him on furiously; to accustom him by degrees to be conformable to the Kings Will; and to enure him betimes to obey such Laws as the King should afterwards think fit to impose upon him: So that the thing being rightly consider'd, was of dreadful Consequence. But although the King had not carried things so high as he did, in respect to a Sovereign Prince, who had no dependance upon him, certain it is, that the King of *France* was the greatest Enemy he had, and he knew it by woeful Experience. For besides, the Towns which he detain'd from him, the Treaty which he had forc'd him to Sign at *Vincennes*, after he had drill'd him on whole years, as he did in that Negotiation, he had made it his whole Business ever since the Death of *Lewis XIII.* to invade

his Dukedoms ; and that all the World knew. All these Reasons with an infinite number of others not necessary for this place , were sufficient to render the King hateful to him. Nevertheless he was so far from taking a course to throw off his Fetters, that his Resentment against Prince *Charles*, and the Artifices of his Enemies that incens'd him to Revenge, render'd him so little the Master of himself , that never considering, that to make his Nephew miserable, he run the hazard of making more Unfortunate his Son, the Prince of *Vaudemont*, so Worthy to succeed him, he laid a design to make the King of *France* his general Heir, and to Translate the Succession of his Territories to a Prince who had been the only occasion of the greatest part of his Misfortunes, and wore the very Crown which he complain'd that his Predecessors had usurp'd from his Family. Which the Duke of *Guise*, and Madam de *Montpensier* were within a little of proving under the Reign of *Henry III.* in the time of the League.

However it was a thing of too great Consequence to be determin'd without serious Consideration. So that he Studi'd for some days, before he would put his Design in Execution. And in regard, that all that while he was turmoil'd with a thousand Thoughts, he was become so Distracted, that his Domestick Servants perceiv'd there was some strange Combat in his Mind, which caus'd his Understanding to take those Flights which were not usual with him. Nor would it be an easie thing to express his Condition at that time. You should have him of a sudden call for his Coach to go to the  
King



King and discover his Intention: By and by he would recollect himself, that this was so contrary to his real Interests, as afterwards he declar'd, that he would whisper to himself, that he had rather his Nephew should succeed him, than a Prince, who not content to have stript him of his Territories, us'd him no better than one of his Subjects, with his petty Menaces. He had once a design to retire into *Lorrain*, and let the King do what he pleas'd. But immediately changing his Mind, he resolv'd at length to spend some time in the Country, there to walk away the disquiet of his Thoughts, and bring his Determinations to an absolute Conclusion.

To which purpose he made choice of the Village of *Montreuil*, which is not above a League from *Paris*.

Now in regard there were some that attended the Duke who were highly concern'd for Prince *Charles*, they gave him notice that the Duke was designing to go out of Town, and that they had some Suspicion that he would be gone the next day.

When this News came to the Prince, it was so late at Night, that it was impossible for him to wait upon his Uncle. But the next day he rose very early in the Morning to attend him, and let him understand that he was acquainted in part with his intention to withdraw himself privately out of *Paris* into *Lorrain*, and to beseech him at the same time, with all manner of Submission and Profound Respect, not to take a Resolution so fatal as that would prove. But the Duke was already gone. The Prince was

at his Wits end. But being told that he was to lie that Night at *Vilmarcuil*, a House of Pleasure belonging to the Prince of *Lislebonne*, about Fourteen Leagues from *Paris*, he took Horse as soon as possible with only three or four in his Company. Yet with all the Speed he could make he could get no farther then *Meaux*, which is above Four Leagues from the House, and it was late in the Night before he got thither too.

But the Duke being gone no farther then *Montreuil*, there was no News of him at *Meaux*; beleiving therefore that he might have taken some other Road, the Prince sent away a Messenger to *Vilmarcuil*: Where finding that the Intelligence that was given him was altogether mistaken, he return'd in all hast to *Paris*.

The suddain departure of Prince *Charles* strangely allarum'd Duke *Francois*, and the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*. For the Prince was no ſooner out of Town, but a Report was ſpread about, That he was only gone to overtake the Duke his Uncle to Duel him, not able to endure the Injuſtice which he did in reſuſing his Conſent to his Marriage with the Princeſs of *Nemours*. But his return ſoon quieted their Minds again. However, they that were acquainted with Prince *Charles*'s Humour did him that Juſtice, and juſtifi'd him from being capable of ſuch an Ignominious Deſpair, which was ſo far from procuring him any change in his Affairs, that it would have utterly ruin'd 'em, and been an injury to himſelf never to have been repair'd. In ſhort, he was a Prince too Prudent to forget himſelf to that Degree: And beſides, he knew

too well, by what ties he was bound to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to dip his Hands in his Blood, in case Fortune had favour'd him in a single Combat; which however was a chance very dubious.

And therefore it may be readily conjectur'd, that they were none of the Princes Friends that spread about such a Rumour. And as it could not be without a purpose to render him odious to his Uncle, so the News quickly flew to *Montrevil*.

But though the Duke gave little Credit to the Report, he could not forbear flying out into sharp Language against his Nephew. He was already too much incens'd, not to shew some symptoms of his Anger. For Princes are like other Men; they are subject to the same Infirmities; they are also many times more apt to entertain violent Passions, than their Inferiours: And there are few, how generous they may be otherwise, that do not find some Sweetness in Revenge. So that the Duke himself could not refrain from saying openly, That he would be Reveng'd of the Rashness of his Nephew; that since his good or bad Fortune depended solely upon him, he knew how to humble his Pride; and that let what would happen, he wore a Sword by his side as well as he, and would not stir an Inch for him.

But this was not the only Misfortune that befell the Prince of *Lorrain*? For at the same time that the Duke seem'd most exasperated, Madam the Dutches of *Orleanse* receiv'd a Letter from an unknown Hand, and without any Subscription, wherein she had warning given her, that

three Friends of Prince Charles's, among whom the Count of *Furstemberg* was one, had a design to make away the Duke of *Lorrain*. That they had been a long time consulting whether they should Assassinate him, or seize upon his Person, and then shut him up in some Castle: But that at length, having consider'd that which way soever they should do the Business, it would be absolutely impossible to preserve the Reputation of the Prince; in regard, that all would come out in the end; they resolv'd, that the Prince should Fight his Uncle Hand to Hand, there being no other way to rid him of a Prince that persecuted him so Cruelly.

This Letter could not be kept so private but that it came to the Duke of *Lorrain*. Nevertheless, although he had all the reason in the World to conclude it an Imposture, as the Author of the Letter since Confess'd; and that he were otherwise Convinc'd, that if the Prince had any such design, he could have had a thousand ways to put it in Execution; he determin'd to make the King his Heir, as he had contriv'd it before: And three Days after he Sign'd a private \* Treaty, of which the principal Articles were,

\* This Treaty was sign'd in the Abby of Mont-Marte, in the presence of the D. of Guise, and the Abbess his Sister. Feb. 6. 1662.

I. That he made the King his Heir of the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*.

II. That for the security of his Faith and Word, he would immediately Surrender into his Hands the Town of *Marfal*.

III. That

III. That the King on his part, in Acknowledgment of this Donation, should associate to his Crown all the Princes of the House of Lorrain, and that for the time to come they should be look'd upon in France as Princes of the Blood; and that their Creation should be allow'd in all his Courts of Parliament, and acknowledged by all the States of the Kingdoms of France and Navarr; so that those Princes, according to their Eldership, should be capable of succeeding, in Case the Line of Bourbon fail'd.

Upon occasion of which last Article it was, that the Duke, who sometimes lov'd to break a Jest, one day joaking with the Prince of Conde, told him, That he never knew how to make above one Prince of the Blood in his Life, but that he with one dash of his Pen had made Four and Twenty.

This Treaty was already Sign'd without the least Suspicion that either Duke Francis or the Prince had of it: for indeed, who could have expected any such thing? But in regard it was a thing actually done, and that the King car'd not to make a Secret of it, those two Princes had notice of it soon enough. For Monsieur de Lionne, who was himself the Author of the Negotiation, made it known to the Count of Furstenbergh, and the Count the next moment carried the News to Prince Charles, who was so stunn'd with the Blow, that he knew not where he was. 'Tis true, Monsieur Lionne had not positively said that the Treaty was yet sign'd; and therefore in regard the Friends of Duke Francis, and Duke Francis himself were



in hopes, that it would prove no more than a Loud Threat ; or, that if the Duke had resolv'd upon such an Extremity, he might be wrought upon to change his Mind, by making him sensible of his going about to ruin his Family, therefore Prince *Charles* was advis'd to go and throw himself at his Feet.

The Prince was deeply sensible of his Misfortunes : for he saw himself not only stript in a Moment of the Territories of the Duke of *Lorraine*, upon the Succession to which he depended ; but that which more cruelly perplex'd him at that instant was, that after this terrible blow, he was no more to think of *Madamoiselle de Nemours* : there being no likelihood that she would marry a Prince despoil'd of all his hopes, and reduc'd to the Condition of a Private Life.

In the mid'st of these thoughts, he accosted his Uncle with a Consternation hardly to be represented by the most Skilful Pencil. He mov'd him at first with an infinite Number of wounding Expressions ; and after he had laid before him, with a profound Submission, the Injury which he did to himself in the World, if he persisted in his Resolution to make a Foreign Prince the Successor to his Territories, to the Prejudice of his own Lawful Heirs : He conjur'd him to withdraw himself from *Paris* ; there being but that only way to break a Treaty, the Conclusion of which he would infallibly repent when it was too late. He besought him to consider, that out of a desire to ruin him, he ruin'd the Prince of *Vaudemont*, his Son ; and that he would be universally look'd

upon as the weakest of all the Princes of *Europe*; which he must be forc'd to acknowledge upon maturer and more considerate thoughts. And that he might endeavour by all manner of means to bring him to a Recollection of himself, and render his persuasions prevalent, he added, that if he were resolv'd to leave *France*, which he most humbly besought him to do, he was ready to follow him, and to surrender himself up into his hands; to give an absolute Obedience to his Commands; and in a word, he let him know, that after what manner soever he us'd him, he should be satisfied with his Destiny, provided he brake off the Treaty.

Now in regard that all that Prince *Charles* said proceeded from his Heart, his Remonstrances pierced the Duke of *Lorrain* so deeply to the quick, that he could not forbear to relent, and to protest that he had over-rashly engag'd himself in that Affair. But the Prince was come too late; the Duke could make no Advantage either of his Counsel or his Remonstrances: And tho' he were a Person of a present utterance, he knew not at first what Answer to make the Prince. But at length, after he had paus'd a while, he told him, that himself was the Cause of his Misfortune; that if he had not driven on so furiously as he did, he had never reduc'd himself to that Extremity; and that it was an Act of Despair to which he had forc'd him against his own will. He did not think it necessary to tell the Prince he had Sign'd the Treaty, but he let him understand, that he had given his word so positively

to the King, that he could not retract. And whereas the Prince persisted in representing to him the necessity of his withdrawing himself out of *France*, and that then there might be some Expedient thought upon, he reply'd, That it was observ'd on all parts, ever since the Negotiation was on foot, that the Counsel which he propos'd was good, but dangerous to take; that in short, he had been so unfortunate at *Toledo*, that he would not try the Experiment, whether he should be more happy in *Paris*, should it be his Misfortune to be Arrested.

While the Prince was thus importuning the Duke his Uncle, Madam *de Nemours*, and the Marshal *D'Espre* arriv'd at the Duke of *Lorrain's* Lodgings. Now in regard they could speak with more freedom than Prince *Charles*, they omitted nothing to shew him in the worst dress the Error he had committed. And the Marshal after several Discourses, told him plainly, That neither the Prince his Nephew, nor his Son the Count of *Vaudemont*, would have any reason to be beholding to him, unless he resolv'd to retract what he had done; besides, that all the World would talk of him to his eternal Infamy. To which he reply'd with a cold indifferency, that as for his Nephew, he did not pretend to oblige him, though he began to repent that he had carried on his Revenge so far; That he was above all that his Enemies could say of him, to the staining either of his Honor or his Memory; and that as for the Prince of *Vaudemont*, he had manag'd his Interests so well, that he would have Cause to be glad to see himself stript of an Estate which he  
was

was not sure that he should ever enjoy, though he never had sign'd the Agreement, considering the Pretensions of Duke *Francis*, and the Condition of Affairs. In short, besides the Articles mention'd, the King had accorded him the Liberty of disposing a Hundred thousand Crowns a year, to whom he should think fit, to be charg'd upon such Lands as he should make choice of in his Dutchies; and he had also leave for once to Levy a Million, and to employ it as he thought convenient.

Madam *de Nemours* was so exasperated at the Duke's Answer, that she brake forth into a violent Passion against him; more then that, she complain'd after a most extraordinary manner, of the Injustice which the King himself had done her, insomuch that the Marshal was constrain'd to give her a Check: for indeed she utter'd very injurious Language in the Transports of her Choler. But these were only airy Complaints, that signified little, and therefore might the more easily be forgiven. For besides that these Ejaculations of a boyling Passion, no way contributed to accommodate the Breach, the Duke had already done that which he was fully perswaded he ought not to have done. And this was evident the next day. In a word, it was discover'd, that the Duke of *Guise* himself had carried the Agreement Sign'd, to the King, at the time that he was raffling at *St. Germain's Fair*; and this Circumstance was farther added, that the King had no sooner cast his Eyes upon him, but with a smile he told him, There was never a Jewel in the Fair of equal value to the Price of that which he had brought him. The

The King, till the Signing, Sealing and Delivery of this Treaty, had look'd upon the Prince of *Lorrain* with so much Esteem and Honour, and had given him also so many Testimonies of his Favour, upon all Occasions that offer'd themselves, that this Unfortunate Prince, in that Extremity to which he saw himself reduc'd, believ'd that the only course he had to take, was to have recourse to the King's Generosity. For considering what was done, there was no likelihood that he could expect any thing from the Duke of *Lorrain*. So that he rely'd no farther upon him; but he flatter'd himself that the King would suffer himself to be wrought upon, to desist from his Pretensions of Succession to the Duke's Territories, if he could but come to lay open the Matter before him; and this was also the Opinion of his Friends. Now in regard he was to be at a Ball, that was to be Danced within some few days before his Majesty, believing that while the Preparations for that lasted, he might find some Pretence to discourse the King more frequently than he was wont to do, he neglected no opportunity to speak with him. At last, three or four days before the Ball, having met with a favourable Moment, he conjur'd him to be his Protector, as he had been till that day; to remember how much his his Royal Word was engag'd for the Conclusion of his Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Nemours*, and not to take advantage, to his prejudice of the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Uncle's Hatred toward him; since his Majesty was so well convinc'd, that it was only because he had  
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thrown himself into his Arms, that he had drawn this Tempest upon himself. I know not whether the King gave any heed to this Remonstrance, how submissive soever it might be; but howsoever it were, he was not a little surpriz'd at it. He look'd very sternly upon the Prince, and in a grave and serious tone, told him, That Kings did not govern themselves like private Persons. That there were certain Maxims of State which were a Law to them; which Law was also very Natural; that nevertheless, if he would confide in his Affection, and absolutely refer the Business to him, he would promise him to take a particular Care of his Interests, and that considering the Condition of his Affairs, the best Counsel he could follow, was to rely upon his favour.

The Duke perceiving well by this uncertain and indefinite Answer, that there was nothing more to be done there, took his leave without making any reply; and though he had laid the design of a Method quite contrary to that which the King advis'd him to take, he disssembled so well his Resentment till the Night that the Ball was to be danc'd, that no body had the least suspicion of the Resolution he had taken. He came to the Ball, and danc'd with a surprizing Activity of Body, and Gayery of Mind. But he had no sooner finished his Part, but he withdrew himself, and that Night departed *Paris*, attended only by his Squire, and his *Valet de Chambre*, so privately that nobody perceiv'd it. This Absenting himself, as much agreed upon as it was between himself, Duke *Francis*, and the Dutches of *Orleanse*, put them however

ever into a very great Consternation, when they came to reflect upon the Destiny of a young Prince, who saw himself constrain'd to go a Begging, from Court to Court, the Favour of Foreign Princes, after so many fair Hopes, and so frequently arriving within view of being one of the most happy Princes of *Europe*. But the little hope which he had, that the King of *France*, who had been a long time in love with the Dutchies of *Lorraine* and *Barr*, would resign his new Pretensions, by the Donation of *Charles IV.* and the severe Necessity to which the Prince of *Lorraine* was reduc'd to wander perhaps in vain, without meeting any Settlement, worthy his Great Heart, and Birth; All these and a thousand other various Thoughts crowding into their Minds, afflicted them to that degree, that they could not dissemble their Grief, whatever they could do to conceal it. And if Duke *Francis*, and the Dutchess of *Orleanse* were so extreamly perplex'd for the departure of the Prince, Madam *de Nemours* was no less. For as she was a Woman of great Sincerity, and that she was not of a humour to conceal her Passions, she shew'd her Resentment to all the World. And for the Princess her Daughter, she was so little Mistress of her self upon this Occasion, that she could not refrain from bursting forth into Tears.

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T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
Charles V.

DUKE of Lorraine and Bar,  
And *Generalissimo* of all the  
Imperial Forces.

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THE SECOND BOOK.

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**T**H E Prince of *Lorraine's* withdrawing himself, did not a little of a suddain surprize the King. But in regard, that considering the Condition of his Affairs, there was no danger to be apprehended from it, he did not much mind it. Nay, when he had better consider'd it, he was rather overjoy'd that the Prince

Prince had Banish'd himself. For though he had let the World already sufficiently know, that he was no way dispos'd to give Ear to the Complaints and Suits of that Prince, he was glad that now the Prince had given the World an occasion to say, That the Prince himself had drawn all his Misfortunes upon his own Head; that he might have come to an agreement with him, had he left the Business to his Discretion; and that he might perhaps have been wrought upon by his Submissions, and his Services, to have resign'd, in his Favour, the Donation of the Duke his Uncle. Besides, that it was a plausible pretence to break off the Marriage with Mademoiselle de Nemours; for there it was that the game was to begin.

On the other side, the Prince esteeming himself happy, that he had so well withdrawn himself from Court, where he was afraid of doing those Things, which might in the Consequence be prejudicial to him; and fearing besides, least so soon as it should be perceiv'd he was missing, that he might be pursu'd and Arrested by the Kings Warrant, after all his diligence to avoid this second Misfortune; he was no sooner got out of the Hall where the Ball was Danc'd, but he made haste to a Street, where some of his People attended him with his Coach; and in a Moment after, taking Horse, he rode all Night, and all the next day, without making any stop, till he arriv'd at *Beunson*; from whence it was agreed between Duke Francis, and Madam d'Orleans, that as soon as he received News from them, he should immediately depart for *Vienna*.

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Now in regard this was the safest course that he could take ; besides that he himself was positive, that considering the condition of his Affairs, there was a necessity for him to throw himself into the Emperors Protection, Duke Francis made no question but that he would have followed his own Resolutions. But his Love for the Princess of *Tuscany* unluckily awaking in him at a time when he had something else to think of, of a sudden he alter'd his Design ; and without foreseeing, that what he projected could signifie nothing ; that he went to expose himself, and at the same time to expose the Princess, he departed the next day for *Florence*, under pretence of going to *Rome*, to inform the Pope of his Condition, and desire his Protection.

The Grand Duke, who knew too well the Affection which the Princess of *Tuscany* had had for the Prince of *Lorrain*, and fear'd that the presence of a Prince that was handsome, and had been once Belov'd, would trouble the repose of the Prince his Son, was very much alarm'd at this unexpected visit. However he paid him all the Honour imaginable : He told him how much he was concern'd for his Misfortunes, and protested his extream Sorrow to see a Prince of his Merit reduc'd to such a Condition. However that did not hinder the Dukes intimating to him, himself ; and letting him know by others, that he should be infinitely oblig'd to him if he would retire from his Court. Adding withal, that he could not but know himself, the powerful Reasons that constrain'd him to that Request, and that when he

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had consider'd it, he would never take it ill. As for the Princess of *Tuscany*, she never saw him but in Company, and that very rarely too. Thereupon following the Advice, and withall foreseeing the little Mortifications, which he was likely every day to undergo if he staid in *Florence*, he departed the City, and went immediately for *Rome*.

It is not to be express'd what infinite Testimonies of Tenderness and Affection the Pope gave him. For besides, that from the first Moment he saw him, he was Charm'd with his Wit, his Air, and his Behaviour, the deplorable Condition to which he was reduc'd, augmented the extream Kindness which he had conceiv'd at first sight for a Prince who seem'd to him so little to deserve a Destiny so severe. He made him deeply sensible of the great Inclination which he had to grant him his Protection, and embrace his Interests. But in regard, that at that time the King of *France* and he were at some Difference, he gave him so understand, that it was absolutely impossible to do him any Service with that Monarch, who instead of list'ning to him, would look upon whatever he could say in his behalf, as an Affront. And his Holiness at length so perfectly convinc'd him of the little Success that could be expected from such an Attempt, that the Prince at last, without any more ado, concluded to go to *Vienna*, seeing well that the Popes Favour could do him no good.

Had he been over-rul'd by the Inclinations of his Heart, he had certainly repass'd through *Florence*. He felt within himself those violent

Emo.

Emotions for the Princess of *Tuscany*, which it was impossible for him to quell, though he well knew at the same time that he only pursu'd a Shadow; and that it was a Weakness which could not choose but do him an Injury, if he did not endeavour to conceal it, since he could not quite extinguish it. For it may be said, that he laid as much to Heart the loss of that Princess, as of the Territories of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. He found by Experience upon this Oecasion, that a Flame never well quench'd is easily re-kindl'd; and that his first Inclinations had got Possession of the better share of his Thoughts. But his Reason, and his Duty, or rather his real Love for *Mademoiselle de Nemours*, having at length vanquish'd his Chimerical Passion, he resolv'd at last to think no more of the Princess of *Tuscany*, as long as he liv'd; and because he would not expose himself to a new Temptation, he went directly for *Venice*, where he was receiv'd with great Honour.

Before he arriv'd at *Vienna*, he stopp'd a while at *Munich*, where he receiv'd so many Civilities from the Elector and Electress of *Bavaria*, that he could have willingly tarry'd longer at that Court, but that his Affairs call'd him farther off. He arriv'd at length at *Vienna* where the Emperor upon his first coming, assur'd him, that he would lay his Interests to Heart, and when opportunity offer'd, he would use his utmost Endeavours to restore him to his Rights, and secure him a Succession, which the Duke of *Lorrain* could not dispose from his own Line without the greatest Injustice in the World.

He also took such an Affection for the Prince, that he always call'd him his Brother, remembering that when they were Children, they were wont to give one another that Appellation.

In the mean time the King of *France*, to shew his extraordinary Joy for having so easily acquir'd two such considerable Dukedoms, gave Order for a Caroussel in the grand Piazza of the *Tuilleries*, with an incredible Magnificence: But for all that he was forc'd to make use of Violence, before he could assure himself the Possession of his new Inheritance.

In the Duke of *Lorrain's* Donation, as I have already observ'd, the Duke had inserted an Article, whereby the King was oblig'd to cause all the Princes of the House of *Lorrain* to be acknowledg'd Princes of the Blood in all the States and Parliaments of *France*, to the end they might be capable of Succeeding to the Crown, in case the Line of *Bourbon* happen'd to fail. So that when the King, in pursuance of the Treaty, Summon'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to deliver *Marsal* into his Hands, the Duke on the other side requir'd from the King, the Allowance of the Treaty in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and that he might be admitted into the States of the Kingdom; in regard it was agreed, that before all things, he should cause all the Conditions and Articles of the Donation to be accepted in Form according to the Covenants.

Neither did the King oppose the Duke of *Lorrain's* Demand at all; but when the Covenants came to be put in Execution, he found an infinite number of Obstructions which he never expected.

Duke

Duke *Francis* no sooner understood that the King was gone in Person to the Palace to Register the Donation so prejudicial to all his Family, but he presently hasten'd thither, to make some Opposition, which immediately he did, though he were thrust back by the Kings Officers; and that too with an unseemly Violence.

He set forth in that Opposition, that the Donation made by his Brother to the King, was to be lookt upon as Null and Void. For if the Dutchies of *Lorraine* and *Bar* were to be consider'd as States, where the *Salick* Law took place, they were not Alienable; and farther, that if the last Will and Testament of *René* King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Lorraine*, were to be observ'd as it ought to be, by which his Territories were be Entailed upon the Male Heirs, the same Consequence was still to be drawn from it, that the Person in Possession was but Tenant for Life, so that the Duke of *Lorraine* could not dispose of the Dukedoms of *Lorraine* and *Bar* as he had done. In the Second place, That if on the other side, they insist'd upon the Female Right, which was most observ'd in *Lorraine*, as might be prov'd by several Examples, and chiefly by that of the Princess *Nicole*, in whose Right *Charles IV.* enjoy'd the Government of the Dutchies which he had Alienated; those Dukedoms ought to revert to Prince *Charles*, the only Heir of that Dutchies.

But Duke *Francis* was not the only Person that oppos'd the Registring of the Donation. For the Duke of *Vendosme* at the same time presented a Petition, wherein he besought his Majesty to consider, That *Henry IV.* had sent a

Declaration to the Parliament, purporting, That he should walk in Processions immediately next after the Princes of the Blood, and according to that Declaration, his Majesty allow'd him that place in the Ceremony of the Knights of the Holy Ghost. And therefore that he hop'd his Majesty would grant the same Privilege to his Children, who had a Right to it by their Mothers side, being the Daughter of *Emanuel of Lorrain*, Duke of *Mercœur*, who ought to precede all those of the House of *Guise*, and that of the Marquis of *Monty*, that were descended only from the younger Family. And lastly, he besought his Majesty to permit both him and his Children to make their Opposition, and defend their Rights, according to the Rules of the Common Law. The Prince of *Courtenai*, and his Children also made the same Protestations. And the Dukes and Peers Remonstrated in their places, That the Preeminence that the King had granted to the Princes of *Lorrain*, wounded the highest Dignity in the Kingdom. That they could produce Examples to prove that the Princes of the Blood, and even Kings themselves of Ferraign Countries had been preceded by the Peers at the Coronations of the Kings of *France*, in Assemblies of Parliament, and at other Ceremonies; and that they hop'd his Majesty would not suffer them to undergo any Diminutions of their Privileges under his Reign.

They who were concern'd in this Affair, flatter'd themselves, that the Parliament would refuse to verifie the Donation. But in regard, the King was come to the Parliament, with Four  
thou.



Thousand Men at his Heels, and consequently with a Resolution to be Obey'd, the Parliament without any Hesitation fulfill'd the Kings Pleasure. So that the same day, which was the 27th of February 1662. the King having himself presented a Declaration containing the Clauses and Conditions upon which *Charles IV.* had surrender'd to him the Propriety of the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, the Declaration was Register'd. And to shew that he did not altogether despise the Oppositions and Remonstrances which had been made him, and that he had not laid 'em aside, till he had made it appear that they were of no validity, the Advocate General *Talou*, maintain'd, before he came to his Conclusions, that the States of *Lorrain* and *Bar* were never regulated by the *Salic Law*; and as for what concern'd the Entail made upon the Heirs Male by the King of *Sicily*, which was that which Duke *Francis* alledg'd, it made for the Kings of *France*, seeing that *Charles* of *Anjou*, Nephew and Successor to *René*, not having any Childern, made *Lewis XI.* and *Charles* the VIII. his Heirs. To which he added, that 'twas Ridiculous to alledge the Succession of Women, after having set up the Male Title only: That *Lorrain* having been always dependant upon the Crown of *France*, it was but just that it should be reunited to it; and in a Word, that by what ever Title Duke *Charles* claim'd a Right to the Dukedoms, as he had been stript of 'em by the Deceas'd King, so they were not restor'd to him but by the Indulgence of his Successor; and therefore since there was a way found out to unite them again to the Crown by an Authen-

tick Stipulation, it behov'd his Majesty for the Interest of his Kingdom, to make his Advantage of it. And as for what concern'd the Honour which the King had accorded to the Princes of *Lorrain*, to be reputed Princes of the Blood, it was a Privilege that was never yet contested with a Crowned Head; though Monsieur the Chancellor had spoken very boldly in that Affair; for he had positively and in proper terms affirm'd, That the King could not make Princes of the Blood without his Consort the Queen.

The Publication of the Donation thus made, put Duke *Francis* into a great Consternation, and all those of the House of *Lorrain*. There were none but some of those Princes that were settled in *France*, and enjoy'd all their Estates in that Kingdom, who suffer'd themselves to be dazzled with the Hopes of coming to be Princes of the Blood, and of being preferr'd under that Character, to all Foreign Sovereign Princes, without considering that it was to the Extinction of their own Family; and that there was so little likelihood of seeing that Article for their Association into the Princes of the Blood observ'd, in regard of an Infinite Number of Oppositions that were made, and would be made every day, that they had more reason to fear, lest one day they should be reduc'd to be no Princes at all.

In the mean time, Duke *Francis* omitted no Industry to let the Duke of *Lorrain* understand the wrong he had done him: And his Remonstrances wrought so effectually upon the Duke, that after he testified his extream Sorrow for  
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having sign'd the Donation, he promis'd without intermission to labour the Disannulling it, and that so soon as he had brought his design to pass, he would restore his Territories to Prince *Charles*; reserving to himself a reasonable Pension. And to assure him of Performance, and let him see that he approv'd the Prince's withdrawing out of *France*, he had furnish'd him with Five hundred Pistols to defray his Expences to *Vienna*.

The Duke being thus return'd to himself, and extreemly troubled at the Donation which he had made of his Territories to the King, refus'd to Surrender up *Marfal*, though the Stipulation were verifi'd in Parliament. And the Prétence which the Duke laid hold on was very lawful; for that the Parliament, in verifying the Deed, had added a Condition which render'd it utterly void. The Clause of the Verification imported, that the Princes of *Lorrain* should not be reputed Princes of the Blood, but upon Condition, that all the Princes of the Blood should Sign and Ratifie the Stipulation: for defect of which they were all in general excluded from the Benefit of that Association. It was urg'd by the Duke of *Lorrain*, that there were several Princes of that House, who were as yet under Age, and therefore incapable of doing any Act that could stand good in Law: that Duke *Francis* had put in Exceptions against the Registring of the Donation; that Prince *Charles*, his Nephew, had withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, because he would not be forc'd to Sign it; and so, that Clause which the Parliament had added, overthrowing  
all

all, he was not bound to perform the Article of the Treaty which concern'd the King's Interest : that the King had not perform'd those, that concern'd the Interest of his House, since he had not stript himself of his Territories in Kindness to him, but with this Consideration, that the Princes of the House of *Lorraine* might be in a Capacity to succeed to the Government of a Kingdom which had formerly belong'd to their Predecessors.

The King, who saw that the Duke of *Lorraine* was fix'd in his Resolutions, urg'd no farther the Surrender of *Marsal*. He made a shew, as if he did not much care for that Town; and imagin'd that the Vexation for what had pass'd a little before, had put the Duke into an ill Humour, and that if he manag'd him well, he should bring him in time frankly to perform whatever he desir'd: and there was great likelihood that this way would take. But when the King found him to be unalterable; that all his Managements prov'd fruitless; that he still obstinately demanded that the Parliament should change their Language; and that he was ready to retire into *Lorraine*, with a Resolution to defend *Marsal*; he thought it then high time to employ more effectual means than he had hitherto made use of. To that purpose, he endeavour'd to hold Intelligence with the *Lorraine* Nobility, who were not a little discontented. He imagin'd, that if he could but gain some of the Principal Gentlemen, there would be nothing more easie than to make himself Master of *Marsal*, and some other considerable Place to boot; and there

therefore to effect this, there was no means that he left unessay'd. This Negotiation was undertaken by the Governor who stay'd at *Nanci*, with a strong Garison, till the Fortifications were demolish'd, and he mis'd but very little of Success. For in regard he made large Promises to the Nobility, that if they would shake off the Duke of *Lorraine's* Yoke, they should be restor'd to their Ancient Privileges, they stood tottering a long time. But coming at length to consider, that there is seldom the more Liberty gain'd by the Change of Domination, and that our *Enemy* becomes our *Master*, they rejected the King's Offers: choosing rather to languish for some time under the Government of a lawful Prince, though he dispos'd their Privileges, than to purchase a dubious Liberty by Treason and Revolt.

But before the *Lorraine* Nobility had determin'd to refuse the Advantages offer'd them by the King of *France*, Prince *Charles*, who remain'd at the Court of *Vienno*, was inform'd of what pass'd at *Nanci*; and indeed, the News alarm'd him; for he thought the King would compass his Ends. Fearing therefore, lest if he became Master of any one Strong Hold, he would soon get Possession of all the rest, and that it would not then be in the Duke's Power to expel the Enemy out of his Dominions, he posted away for *Lorruin*, and found a means himself to get into *Marsal* undiscover'd. He was no sooner arriv'd, but he dispatch'd a Courier to the Duke his Uncle, to give him notice, that he might not be surpriz'd at his coming: Protesting withal, that his putting himself into the



the Town, was only to secure it, upon the Information which had been given him, that the King of *France* had a design to Besiege it; but that he was resolv'd to defend the Place, and Sacrifice his Life for his Interests. The Governor also of the Place had sent him an Express for the same reason, wherein he let him know, that besides, that the Prince was in no Condition to attempt any thing to his Prejudice, he had made him a thousand Protestations, that he had undertaken that Journey only to Sacrifice his Life for him, and to oppose the Designs of *France*. But the Duke mistrusting the Prince, did all he could to get him out of *Marsal*: To which purpose he caus'd Duke *Francis* to write to him, and withal wrote himself to him. The Prince's Friends likewise, who saw there was somewhat of rashness in the Attempt, in regard he expos'd himself to the danger of falling into the hands either of the Duke or the King; were the first that incessantly importun'd him to withdraw.

Thereupon the Prince being convinc'd that the King of *France* had no Design upon *Marsal*, as having not yet assur'd himself of the Nobility; and finding besides, the King could not corrupt any one Officer of the Garrison; and that he had fancied to himself without any grounds, that he could make himself Master of the Place; he departed some few days after, and return'd to *Vienna*.

This Action of the Prince of *Lorrain*, as inconsiderately undertaken as it was, shew'd nevertheless a Great and Generous Spirit, which they who blam'd him most, admir'd in him.

And

And all agreed that it was an Auspicious Preludium to his future Performances; and that in that Attempt they beheld the Bravery of his Ancestors. To which they added, that what would have been an inexcusable Imprudence in an experienc'd Captain, was a piece of Temerity to be applauded in a young Prince, whom it behov'd to be covetous of Honour; that they who never had an opportunity to signalize themselves, ought not to refuse the first that presents it self; and that the Prince had done more in daring to put himself into *Marsal* at that time, than if he had made himself Master of it at another: and this was also the Discourse of his Enemies. Nor could *Lewis XIV.* refrain from acknowledging, that he had made himself an Enemy, that he fear'd would find him work enough one day. And the Duke himself was so scar'd with a Resolution so daring, that in a short time after, he left *Paris* and return'd into *Lorrain*, out of an apprehension that the Prince would not stop there, but that he was labouring underhand to make a Party, and excite the Nobility to Rebellion. For he could not put it out of his Mind that the Prince would have engag'd in an Enterprize so hazardous, but that he had kept Intelligence with his Enemies: which was a Conjecture not without Probability.

However these Reasons could not oblige the Duke to be more moderate toward the Nobility in respect of their Privileges. Nay, he carried things with so high a hand, that they were near upon the Point of throwing off their Masks, and declaring for the King of  
*France;*

*France* ; who desirous to make Advantage of the Occasions of their Discontents, never ceas'd soliciting them to shake off the Duke's Fetters, flattering them withal, that under his Government ; they should enjoy their Privileges so amply , that they should never repent the change of their Master. Nevertheless, the *Lorraine* Nobility, upon better Consideration, chose rather to suffer for a while, than to venture the utmost Extremity ; so that all the Practises of the King of *France* came to nothing. Which caus'd him to take a more sure way to constrain the Duke to deliver up *Marjal*.

He therefore Summon'd him to Surrender the Place without further delay : alledging, without vouchsafing to hear the Duke's Reasons, that the Princess *Nicole* , had privately pass'd a Donation of the Dukedoms of *Lorraine* and *Barr* to the deceas'd *Lewis XIII.* his Father, and that he himself had made another so authentick, that it was impossible for him to retract it, whatever Imaginations he might have ; and thereupon, he order'd his Forces that lay still in and about *Nanci*, to seize upon the Duke's Dominions ; which was presently done with all extremity of Rigor. For the Counts of *Guiche* and *Pradel*, who commanded the Body, no sooner receiv'd their Orders, but they constrain'd all the Duke's Officers to deliver up all the Money that was in their hands to Monsieur *Colbert* , who was sent into *Lorraine* to take the King's Accompts. And not content with these Vexations, he upheld the Claims of some of the Nobility , who laying hold of the Advantage, rais'd Men, seized up-  
on

on some Castles, which as they pretended, the Duke unjustly detain'd from them, and mitted an infinite Number of Hostilities.

The King perceiving that notwithstanding all that he had done, the Duke still kept *Marsal*, resolv'd at length to seize the Place by force, and for that end to besiege it. However to observe the Formalities usual upon such Occasions, he sent one of the Captains of his Guards to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to let him know, that he was resolv'd to have *Marsal*, whatever it cost him; and that he had no more to do, but to determine without farther Hesitation, to perform the last Treaty in every particular. He told him farther, that it would be his best way to surrender the place quietly; as being resolv'd, that if he met with the least resistance, he would seize upon all his Territories, whereas he should shew him all the Esteem and Respect he could desire, if he freely and willingly perform'd his Promise.

*Charles IV.* not being strong enough to oppose the Arms of *France*, took the only Counsel that was to be followed in such a ticklish Conjunction; which was to Treat with the King anew. He sent him therefore Word, that he would enter into new Articles with him, which were concluded at *Marsal* the First of September 1663.

I. That the Duke of *Lorrain* should within three days deliver up *Marsal* into the Hands of the King of *France*; in lieu of which, his Majesty promis'd him the Free Enjoyment of his Territories and Demesnes; and to restore him the *Mancy* which had been already seiz'd; and that he would recall  
all

all his Forces as well out of Nancy, as all other Places in Lorraine, so soon as the Fortifications were demolish'd.

II. That he should be at Liberty either to rase the Fortifications within a year, or else to enjoy the Propriety of the Town, which he pleased. But in that case he should be oblig'd to settle upon the Duke other Lands equivalent to the Demesnes of the Place.

III. That if his Majesty within one year should choose to demolish the Fortifications, he should restore the City to the Duke with all the Demesnes belonging to it; together with all the Warlike Ammunition, and Furniture of the Cannon which should be in the Place when it shall be restor'd to the Duke: of all which there should be an Inventory made.

IV. That the King should constrain the Gentlemen who had taken Arms to return to their own homes, and restore the Castles which they had seiz'd in his Dominions; saving that they might be left to take their Remedy at Law to sue for such Pretensions as they had against the Duke.

V. That in pursuance of this Treaty, the Duke should be restor'd to his Territories, according to the Treaty of Vincennes, which the King promis'd to Observe, and Ordered to be Registered in the Parliament of Paris.

Now in regard the King had renounc'd his Succession to the Dukedoms of Lorraine and Bar, the Duke was desirous to have an Article inserted, wherein the Renunciation should be expressed in due form. But the King would not hear with that Bar. The Ministers which the King had sent to treat at Marsal, told the Duke, that the King never cancell'd by Publick Acts any Treaties which he had once Sign'd; that it was  
below



below his Royal Majesty so to do ; and that it behov'd the Duke to be satisfy'd, that the King had tacitly renounced the Treaty at *Montmarre*. So that the Duke, not having any other way to take, was constrain'd to be contented with what was done ; though the Assurances which they gave him,\* that the King would think no more of the Treaty of Succession, were but only Verbal Assurances, upon which he could not depend ; not having an Army powerful enough to make the Article to be interpreted according to the true meaning of the Words.

However it were, *Charles* the Fourth was so well satisfied with the last Treaty, that he let the Nobility be at Quiet : and though he were also convinc'd at the same time, that there were several Gentlemen who had instigated others to shake off their Fetters, and betake themselves to the Protection of the King of *France*, he was contented to let them perceive his Resentment by mild and gentle Admonition ; and to shew that he had no Animosity against them, notwithstanding the false Steps which some of 'em had trod, he advanc'd 'em to Principal Places of Trust, which was that they never expected.

And this was a happy Accident for the *Lorrain* Gentlemen, as having brought them all to participate of his Favours. Only Duke *Francis* and Prince *Charles* his Nephew, were the two Persons that reaped no Benefit by this last Treaty.

However so soon as the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Duke *Francis*, his Brother, were return'd home into their Dominions, they had both concerted together to free themselves from the

French Yoak, and break the Treaty of *Montmarre*. And *Charles IV.* had engag'd, that if they could but once bring about their Designs, he would acknowledge Prince *Charles* for his Lawful Successor. For in regard that by the Treaty of *Marsal* the King of *France* had renounc'd the Donation that Entitl'd him to the Succession of *Lorraine* and *Barr*, Duke *Francis* was of Opinion, that seeing the Duke so well dispos'd, it would not be amiss to send for Prince *Charles* from *Vienna*, and imparted his Intentions to the Duke his Brother, who readily consented that the Prince should quit the Emperors Court, and repair into his Dominions. Thereupon Duke *Francis*, well satisfi'd that he had met with no Opposition, sent away his chief Usher to *Vienna*. But he was hardly got to the Frontiers of *Lorraine*, before he was overtaken with a Prohibition from the Duke to go any farther. And in regard, the Duke was afraid, that his Injunction to the contrary, would not hinder the Prince from hastning his Journey, and meeting him at *Nancy*, where he then lay, he gave Order to all the Governors of his Towns, through which he thought he might come, to stop him; alleadging, that the reason why he dealt so odly by the Prince his Nephew, was, that he might not be constrain'd to break with the King of *France*, with whom he acknowledg'd, he had been sufficiently embroil'd already.

But the Principal Reason why he would not have the Prince of *Lorraine* so near him, was his fear lest the Prince should make himself too many Friends within his Territories. And  
though

though the King of *France* car'd little whether the Prince were in *Lorrain* or in *Austria*, in regard that he had actually made it appear that he was incens'd against him, not only for leaving his Court without taking Leave, but also because of some injurious Language that he had let fall against him both at *Rome* and *Vienna*, the Duke was glad of this pretence, which he had not in his thoughts when Duke *Francis* made the proposal of sending for him, but afterwards came into his mind.

On the other side, though the Prince had been long accusom'd to these Severities of his Uncle, he was strangely surpriz'd at this Prohibition of his, but much more at the Pretence which he made use of for it. And therefore touch'd to the Quick at this Repulse, and desirous withal to justifie himself before the King, that he had never mention'd him but with all Respect imaginable in all the Courts where he had been, away he flew to *Paris*, without Consulting any Person about him, or so much as Duke *Francis* himself, and without reflecting, that considering the Condition of his own and his Uncles Affairs, it was a most headlong Resolution, and a dangerous Attempt which would inevitably cost him a dear Repentance; and it fell out accordingly. For the King was so far from being inclin'd in the least to hear his Justification, that Monsieur *Tellier*, to whom he made his first Addresses, having given notice to the King of his Arrival, and of his Design, he sent one of the Captains of his Guard, with Orders to Command him forthwith to depart the City, and within four days to quit the King-

dom. And though the Marquis of *Vallequier*, who was the Person that carried the King's Orders to him, took his leave so soon as he had deliver'd his Message, yet he left behind him a Priviledg'd Gentleman of the Guards, with a Command not to stir from him, till he saw him clear of *France*.

This was too severe an Order not to make a noise in the City. All People knew immediately that Prince *Charles* was arriv'd at *Paris*, and that his Arrival was no sooner known at Court, but that he had receiv'd a Command to be gone again.

Thereupon, Madam, the Dutches of *Orleans*, who knew nothing of all this, till every body knew it, besought the King to grant him one days time, that she might see the Prince her Nephew. To which the King return'd for Answer, That in respect to her, he would allow him two hours, during which time she might see and Discourse with him as much as she pleas'd : and as to the Complaints, that she made him, that the Duke of *Lorraine* would not admit the Prince into his Territories for fear of provoking his Majesty, he replied, That that was nothing to him ; the Duke of *Lorraine* might admit him if he thought fit ; for that he had never exacted any such thing from him ; and that if Prince *Charles* had been wise, he would have kept where he was.

The Prince, who was carefully inform'd of all these things, repair'd to the Palace of *Orleans*, with the Priviledg'd Gentleman of the Guards, where he Discours'd the Dutches for some hours, and then taking Horse, departed out of *Paris* the same day. I

I cannot here forbear to observe how little Resolution and Courage the Prince of *Lorrain* shew'd upon this Occasion, though he were one of the most Resolute and Daring Princes of his Time. The Kings Order had so terrified him, that he durst not see *Madamoiselle de Nemours*, though he most passionately lov'd her, and were Married to her. For in short Duke *Francis* had duly and formally Wedded her in his Name above six Months before: and there was nothing more now to be said against the Marriage, but only that it was not yet consummated. However, it so happen'd, that when the Prince departed from the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, in order to his leaving *Paris*, he paſt by the Palace of *Nemours*. And in regard the Prince had not made choice of that way, but with a deſign to call in, though it were but for a moment, he aſk'd the Priviledg'd Gentleman of the Guards that attended him, whither he had any Order to hinder him. The Gentleman answer'd, that in truth he had none; however he advis'd him to avoid ſeeing of *Madamoiselle de Nemours*; for that beſides that he could not permit him to ſtay but a very little while, the Viſit would but augment the Kings diſpleaſure; and that therefore it was better for him to deny himſelf that Liberty, unleſs he intended to draw upon himſelf the utmoſt rigor of an offended Prince, whom it rather behov'd him to manage with diſcretion and prudence.

One would have thought that the Prince of *Lorrain* ſhould not have ſtood to argue the Point at that time, but that in contempt of all the Dangers that could befall him, and all the Tem-



pests that could pour upon his Head, he should have resolv'd upon this Visit, since there was nothing to hinder him ; and he was just going twice to alight from his Horse. Nevertheless, being strook with a Panick Fear, he follow'd the Advice of his Keeper, and as if his Passion has been as Calm as it was Violent ; or as if he had not been concern'd to visit *Mademoiselle de Nemours*, who was the only Person for whose sake he ought to have undertaken his Journey, he left *Paris*, without seeing her.

All men were surpriz'd, that Prince *Charles* had given such a mark of a faint Heart ; and that he had not consider'd, that besides that the Visit could do him no injury, in respect of the talk of the World, it was the only probable Means to resettle his Affairs. For in regard he was really Married, the only thing without doubt on his side to be done, was to have consummated the Marriage. Or if any reasons of Modesty and Niceness in *Mademoiselle de Nemours* had oblig'd him to abstain, however there would have been a strong Presumption that the thing was done. For besides that, *Mademoiselle de Nemours* knew very well, that she was duly and lawfully Married ; and besides, that she had a tender Affection for the Prince, *Madam de Nemours*, her Mother, so passionately desir'd a Consummation of the Marriage, whatever Crosses of Fortune afterwards beset the Prince, that she offer'd to bring the Princess her Daughter to him wherever he would be pleas'd to appoint, without considering the hazard which she run of incurring the King's Displeasure. In short, the King having urg'd her several times to Mar-

ry that Princess to the King of *Portugal*, she utterly rejected the Proposal, alledging, That her Daughter being effectually Married to the Prince of *Lorrain*, she could not Marry her to another, how advantageous soever the Match might be that his Majesty propos'd. In a word, the Affection which Mademoiselle had for the Prince was so well known, that the Princess dying sometime after he left *Paris*, all People believ'd, that she dy'd for Grief, as not being able to support her Affliction, that the King should oppose the Consummation of a Marriage which he had made himself, and which she could never hope to see accomplish'd after an Obstruction of that Nature.

All People agree, That the Reasons which oblig'd the King of *France* to give such rigorous Orders in reference to the Duke of *Lorrain*, was the Apprehension which he had, that if the Prince should stay too long in *Paris*, he would visit the Princess so often, that she would make such Evidences appear, as would speak aloud to all the World, that they were Married; and it was the King's Interest to break the Marriage: there being no other way for him to disengage himself from the Promise he had made the Prince, upon his signing the Contract; by which he bound himself to acknowledge him the Sole Heir that was capable to Succeed to the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, after the Death of *Charles IV.* which was a clear disannulling of the *Donation* made of the same Dutchies by the Treaty of *Montmarre*.

But to return to the Prince of *Lorrain*, he had engag'd himself so imprudently in his Jour-

ney to *Paris*, that he had not half Money enough left to supply his Necessities; and Madam the Dutcheß of *Orleance*, of whom he had desir'd to borrow, was forc'd to acknowledge that she was not in a Condition to furnish him at present; in regard her Family was now no Richer than under the Ministry of Cardinal *Mazarine*. So that the Prince was constrain'd to accept of the Dutcheßes good will, not daring to delay his Departure.

He was no sooner out of *Paris*, but he posted in all hast to the Frontiers of *France*, taking thence the Road to *Luxemburgh*, where he made a short stay, till he could find some body so charitable as to furnish him with Money; and indeed he was very hard put to it to find a Creditor; but at length a Knight, who was altogether unknown to him, having Lent him Two hundred Crowns, he return'd to the Emperor, with a Design to apply himself wholly to his Service. For as for the Duke his Uncle, he saw well it would be to no purpose to solicit him to permit his Return to *Lorraine*; more especially when he should come to understand the ill Success of his Voyage to *Paris*.

The Emperor received the Prince with infinite marks of his Affection; He testified his Sorrow for his being so ill entertain'd by the Duke his Uncle and the King of *France*, and promised him his Protection as he had done before.

Soon after his Arrival at the Court of *Vienna*, the War brake out in *Hungary* between the Emperor and the Turks. I shall not enter into the Particulars of that War, at what time the Grand Visier

Vifier appear'd at the Head of a Formidable Army, and in the laſt Battel that was fought, left behind him Eight thouſand Men ſlain upon the Place, beſides thoſe that were ſwallowed up in the River of *Raab*.

Now in regard all Chriſtendom was concern'd in this War, all the Chriſtian Princes ſent their Forces to joyn with the Emperors; and *France* among the reſt furniſhed his Imperial Maſteſty with a conſiderable Aſſiſtance of Men, that did him ſignal Service.

And then it was that the Prince of *Lorrain*, to whom the Emperor had already given an old Regiment of a Thouſand Horſe, perceiving there were in the French and other Troops, a great number of Young Gentlemen, who had undertaken a long Journey, to ſignalize their Courage in that War, found the Incitements of his Emulation ſo importunate, that he beſought his Imperial Maſteſty, to let him try his Fortune the next Campaign. But becauſe of the great hazards he was to run, in regard the Ottoman Army was prodigiouſly numerous, beſides, that the Prince was not then above Twenty years of Age, the Emperor thought it not fit at that time to grant him his Requeſt. So that the Prince ſaw himſelf compell'd to abide at *Vienna*, while others were gaining Honour in the Field. However not being able to overrule himſelf, to give Obedience to the Emperor in thoſe Commands that ſeem'd to curb him in the Acquiſitions of Future Fame, he privately withdrew from the Court and got to the Army.

The Turks had then besieged the Fort of *Serini* ; so that the Prince thought he should be soon enough to joyn the Succour that was already sent to relieve that Place. But the Fort being won much sooner than was expected, he was frustrated of those Hopes. Nevertheless, in regard his Mind gave him that he should signalize himself in that Campaigne, he met with an Opportunity wherein he behav'd himself after an extraordinary manner.

A Body of Seven or Eight thousand Turks, of the most resolute in the Grand Signior's Army, being Commanded by the Grand Visier to cross a River that separated the Ottoman from the Christians Camp, with a design to surprize them, so furiously assail'd the Right Wing of the Imperial Army, that they began to give ground, without making any considerable resistance. Which cast such a terror among the Imperialists, that General *Montecuculi*, being at his Wits end to see so bad a Beginning of a Fight, was glad to bring on the Left Wing to renew the Combat. Among whom, the first that *Montecuculi* met, was the Prince of *Lorrain*. So that in regard he had no time to lose, and that he could not make choice of what Men he pleas'd, he only told the Prince, that in the Unfortunate Conjunction wherein he found himself, he was constrain'd to oppose his Regiment against the Fury of the Turks, till he could cause others to advance ; only that which troubled him beyond Expression was, to see the Danger to which of necessity he must expose himself to save the Honour of the Christians. To which the Prince made



made as short a reply, That he was overjoy'd to meet with an opportunity to venture his Life; that he was only to direct him where he should Charge; and that he would infallibly Perish, or repel the Enemy. Adding withal, That nothing griev'd him so much, as that he wanted Five hundred Men of his own Regiment, which were sent to secure the Forragers: however they that follow'd him had so much Courage, that he made no doubt but they would give that day more than ordinary proofs of their Valour.

The General finding himself in a great straight, and greatly encourag'd by the generous Prowess of the youthful Prince; told him where he should fall on. And with that, although the Turks were four to one, resolv'd to Die or Vanquish, he broke in among the Turks with so much Vigour, and such a Presence of Mind, that the old Officers of his Regiment were amaz'd at such a first Essay of Valour.

It would be a difficult thing to represent the Heat and Fury with which the Prince fought. For in regard he met with stout Resistance in the second Squadrons that reliev'd the former, he was constrain'd to charge the Enemy three or four times before he could make them give ground. And he must have given way at length, had not the Marquis of *Coligny*, General of the French Horse, order'd the Count of *Fueillade* to advance with a considerable Reinforcement, which assur'd him an entire Victory. The Prince in this Encounter did not only perform the Duty of an Officer, but fought himself like a Common Souldier. He wrested a Colours from the Hands

of

of a Turk, who came with a Resolution to have run him thorough with the Lance to which his Colours were fasten'd. And those Colours, of which the Emperor made him a Present, were sent to Duke *Francis*, who caus'd them to be hung up in the Chappel of the Burgundians near *Nanci*, with an Inscription over them, giving an Accompt of the Battel, wherein the Turks had above Five thousand Slain.

The Count *de Ligneville*, who was a Marshal de Camp in the Army, never left *P. Charles* all the while : and in regard he was an Eye-witness of what pass'd in that bloody Encounter, he wrote a Relation of it to the Duke of *Lorrain*, wherein he set forth in proper Language, that the Emperor in some measure was beholding to the Prince for saving his Army; in regard the daring Courage with which the Prince fought, had renew'd the Combat, from which the Left Wing had most shamefully flinch'd, and given time to the French, who were rang'd on the farthest side of the Left Wing to come to his Rescue, and assist him to win a compleat Victory.

Some time before, the Emperor, who had some Reasons to conclude the War with the Turks, had made Proposals of Peace, which had been utterly rejected by them; but being beaten both in this, and the following Campaign, they found it their best way to accept them, and now made the Proposals first themselves, though the Grand Visier had still an Army of Forty thousand Men in the Field.

The Peace being concluded, all the French, and a great part of the Germans were sent home.

hence. But among the rest that the Emperor kept Standing, the Prince of *Lorrain's* Regiment was one, for which he had always a great Value, after this Fight.

Now in regard that the Toils of the Campaign had been very tedious, and for that the Prince who was indefatigable, was desirous to see his own Regiment settled in their Winter Quarters in *Silesia*, where the Air is very bad in Summer, especially for Strangers, he was no sooner return'd to *Vienna*, but he fell Sick of the Small Pox, and a Malignant Fever so dangerous, that for a long while the Physicians despair'd of his Life. However being of a strong Constitution, he was so well lookt after, that when he began to mend, he recover'd his Strength in a little time.

But the Joy which he had for the Recovery of his Health lasted not long; for no sooner had he vanquish'd the Affliction of two threatening Distempers, but he had News that the Princess of *Nemours* was just about to Marry his Royal Highness of *Savoy*, the Father of the present Duke.

The King of *France*, for the Reasons already mention'd, was so deeply concern'd, least the Prince should Consummate the Marriage of the Princess of *Nemours*, that he made it his whole Business to break it quite off. Yet the Affection which the Princess had for the Prince of *Lorrain* was an obstacle which he could never surmount, not thinking it good Policy to interpose his Royal Authority.

But Madam *de Nemours* being Dead, a sudden Alteration of the Face of Affairs ensu'd.  
For

For the King caus'd the young Princess to be put into a Nunnery, there to mourn for the Dutches her Mother. During which time, the Nuns, who had the managing of her, found out so many ways to turn and wind her, and so forcibly insinuated into her Mind, that the Prince of *Lorraine* withall his Noble Qualities, had but a very small Fortune, that she suffer'd her self at last to be overcome, and promis'd to conform her self to the Kings Pleasure.

But it was so lately before, that the Duke of *Savoy* had lost *Madamoiselle de Valois* his first Wife, Daughter of *Gaston de France*, Duke of *Orleanse*, that he scrupl'd to Marry *Madamoiselle de Nemours* so soon. But they told him those were Delicacies below the Thoughts of Princes. Neither indeed was that the greatest difficulty; for in regard that *Madamoiselle de Nemours* was Marry'd to the Prince of *Lorraine*, his Royal Highness could not Espouse her, till he had a Dispensation from *Rome*; and the Pope who was *Alexander* the VII. refus'd it.

On the other side, the King by his publick Minister set forth to the Pope, That the Marriage not being Consummated, the Princess might be Lawfully discharg'd. In opposition to which, the Prince of *Lorraine* made other Remonstrances in his own behalf. And thus both sides urg'd the best and most potent Reasons that their severall Casuists suggested to them. So that *Alexander*, as great a Politician as he was, knew not well what to do. He saw that which side soever he took, he could never content both Parties. Nevertheless, in regard he could not dispencc with taking Cognizance of the  
Affair,

Affair, he referr'd it to his Nuncio in *France*, and the Archbishop of *Paris*. But the Prince of *Lorrain*, jealous of the Partiality of those Commissioners, demanded that the Process might be determin'd at *Rome*, and that the Pope might be Judge himself.

The King was thoroughly perswaded that the Suit, as knotty as it was, would be determin'd in his Favour. But fearing delays, and spinning out of time, to shorten the way, he caus'd a Petition to be presented to the Pope by Mademoiselle de *Nemours* her self. The Princess therefore now absolutely brought over to say whatever they pleas'd themselves, protested that she never heartily consented to Marry the Prince of *Lorrain*; or if she had declar'd she had done it, it was by the overruling Violence of the Dutcheß of *Nemours* her Mother. To which she added, that on the other side it invincibly appear'd, that the Prince himself had never given but an imperfect Consent; since he never sent the Ratification of the Marriage till a long time after that Duke *Francis* his Father Espous'd her in his Sons Name: And that if all this were not sufficient to shew, that the Prince was only so earnest at that time to conclude the Marriage, out of a Politick End, and not out of any real Affection, there needed no more for her to alledge, than that affrontive Act of the Prince, who having been at *Paris* would not vouchsafe to see her. And Lastly, that it was a thing notoriously known that the Prince had no Inclination for her, as she never had any Inclination for him; and therefore that she humbly besought his Holiness, in whose Power it only was,



was to discharge her, that he would vouchsafe to hearken to her Remonstrance.

Now at the same time that this Petition was presented, the Pope was altogether Embroyl'd with the King of *France*, by reason of the affront which had been offer'd at *Rome* to the Duke of *Crequi*, his extraordinary Ambassador. For it happen'd, that the *Corfi*, who are a sort of Souldiers appointed to Guard the City, and to secure the *Sbirri* in the Executions of Justice, having a quarrel with two or three French Men of the Ambassadors Train, the French Men defended themselves so well, that they wounded some of their Antagonists. Thereupon the *Corfi*, who had received the first Abuse, minding nothing but to Revenge themselves, gave the alarm to all their Companies, consisting of about Four Hunderd Men; and no sooner were they got together, but away they march'd toward the Ambassadors Palace, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, as if it had been in open War. The Duke of *Crequi* hearing the noise which the *Corfi* made, came forth into a Balcony, thinking to pacifie'em; but they made him no other Answer, than in the Language of Musquets and Carbines; and meeting with his Dutcheſs in the Street, they shot several Bullets through the Coach, and kill'd a Page that was going by the Coach with his Hand upon the Boot: and several other Violences of this Nature they committed, too long to repeat. So that the Duke of *Crequi* not finding himself safe at *Rome*, privately withdrew from the City, together with his Dutcheſs, and some of his Domestick Servants, and retir'd to *Florence*.

The

The King of *France* was so enrag'd at the Affront he had receiv'd in the Person of his Ambassador, that he declared War at the same time against the Pope; sent Forces into *Italy*, and seized upon *Avignon*.

*Alexander VII.* who fear'd the Consequences of the War, gave the King to understand, that he had no Hand in the Action of the *Corfi*, that he was ready to punish the Guilty, and to give Satisfaction to his Ambassador, provided he would recal his Souldiers, and restore the Territories of which he had taken Possession. But the King would hear of no Accommodation, unless upon his own Terms.

The Pope us'd all his Endeavours to draw in the Catholick Princes to make a League with him. But all refusing, he was compell'd to submit to whatever the King pleas'd, and so Consented to an Accommodation, that will remain an Eternal Monument of Infamy to the See of *Rome*. For he was not only forc'd to disown in a most shameful manner what the *Corfi* had done, but his Brother *Don Maria*, was compell'd to depart *Rome*. The *Corfi* were perpetually banish'd the Town; from whence the Imperial Cardinal, Governor of *Rome*, was also exil'd, forc'd to acknowledge himself Guilty, and to go and submit himself to the King's Pleasure; and there was a Pyramid also rais'd over against the Court of Guard, where the *Corfi* watch'd, upon which was engrav'd in Letters of Gold, an Inscription, giving an account of the Satisfaction which the King had demanded, and to which the Pope had submitted.

How ignominious soever this Accommodation were for the Pope, he was so well contented, that the King of *France* did not come to burn him in *Rome*, as he had threatn'd, that he had no Mind to embroil himself with him any more. The danger he had scap'd was too great for him to venture any more of those Hazards; and therefore he thought it his Duty to let *France* know how ready he was to Espouse her Interests. So that he had no sooner read Madamoiselle de Nemours Petition, but he gave the Princess liberty to Marry with his Royal Highness of Savoy.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was importun'd to send to *Rome*, before Madamoiselle de Nemours arriv'd in *Piemont*; to Remonstrate to the Pope, that he could not grant the Dispensation he had given, before he had imparted the Princesses Petition to his Nephew; but the Duke would do nothing in it. Only he consented that Duke *Francis* might send one of his Gentlemen, which signifi'd as little. For he was no sooner arriv'd at *Rome*, but he heard the Marriage was Consummated. So that all the Satisfaction he receiv'd from the Pope was only this, That he was sorry he had not been sooner inform'd of his Reasons; but the Business was done, and there was no Remedy.

Now in regard that the Emperor was at Peace, as well with all the Princes of *Europe*, as with the Turk, the Prince of *Lorrain* was constrain'd to live a vacant Life for some years at *Vienno*, while the Count of *Faudemont*, and the Prince of *Lisbonne* had an opportunity to signalize their Valour every day, in the War between

between the Duke of *Lorrain* and the Elector *Palatine*, which lasted till the year 1666. But he endeavour'd to make the best of that occasion to set his Affairs in Order, or to raise his Fortunes so as to repair the loss of his Territories of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, in case that *Charles* the IV. should continue his Resolutions to cross him; or that he were powerful enough to oppose the King of *France*.

So soon therefore as the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Nemours* to the Duke of *Savoy* was known at *Vienna*, all People thought that Prince *Charles* would have Courted the Emperors Sister, who was a Lady of a great Beauty. This was the Princess *Eleanora Maria*. Withall, they believ'd, that the Emperor would have been glad of the Match, the Alliance not being to be Contemn'd, in regard of the great Advantages it would produce against *France*, if ever the Prince came to be Master of *Lorrain*. But it did not appear that the Prince was any thing forward to win the Affections of that Princess. He was so disheartned by the former ill Successes of his first Amours: And besides he was so taken up with the care of his own Affairs, and the raising his Fortune, that he never took notice that the Princess *Eleanora* was so charming as she was. And therefore, in regard there was nothing which he thought could more conduce to the Re-establishment of his Affairs, than to fix himself more and more in the Emperors Favour, he directed his Addresses to the \* Empress Dowager, whom he Courted with an extraordinary

*de Gonzaga, Daughter of Charles Duke of Mantua, the Third Wife of Ferdinand III. and Mother of the Princess Eleonora Maria.*

\* This was  
Eleanor

Affiduity ; in regard that Princess had an unexpressible Ascendant over the Emperor her Son.

\* She died at the Louvre in Paris, Jun. 20.

Much about this time \* died *Anne of Austria*, the Mother of *Lewis XIV.* which was a great loss to the Prince, for that she had always a great kindness for him.  
1666. in the 64<sup>th</sup> year of her Age: And because she was the Daughter of a King, the Sister, Wife and Mother of a King, this Epitaph was put upon her Tomb,

Fit Soror, & Conjux, & Mater, Naraque Regnum,  
Nulla unquam tanto Sanguine digna fuit.

Of Crowned Heads to Europe so well known,  
Wife, Sister, Mother, Daughter met in one,  
Is what to Woman ne'er was yet allow'd,  
To be thought Worthy so much Royal Blood.

As for the Duke of *Lorraine*, *Charles IV.* of whom we may say, that his Life was a perpetual warfare, after the Peace concluded between him and the Elector *Palatine*, he was forc'd to take up Arms again against the same Elector. But *France*, having at that time Sign'd the Peace concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, in regard she had no longer Wars with *Spain*, and had Disbanded good part of her Forces, she was willing the Duke should follow her Example.

On the other side the Duke of *Lorraine* having Intelligence every day, that the Elector *Palatine* drew his Forces together, and had certainly some design upon his Frontiers, he let the King know the danger he was in if he had not an Army on Foot. But the King making Solemn Protections, and having likewise given him



him his Royal Word, that the Elector had no Thoughts of molesting him, he dismiss'd his Army, and dispers'd his Men after such a manner, that it was not easie for him to draw them together again, if necessity requir'd it.

But the Intelligence given the Duke of *Lorrain*, that the *Palatine* Elector had some design upon him, prov'd too true. For he had no sooner dismiss'd his Army, but he understood that the Elector had besieged and taken the Castles of *Landstoaille* and *Honde*, and made his Prisoners the Commander of the Prince of *Vaudemont's* Regiment, and several other Officers, who confiding in the Kings Assurance, that the Elector would not stir, were altogether unprovided to defend themselves.

The Duke had no sooner receiv'd the News, but he rally'd a good part of his Men, and put them under the Command of the Prince of *Lislebonne*, withal giving the Count of *Vaudemont* orders to accompany him with his Regiment of Horse.

Now though the *Lorrain* Army were nothing near so numerous as that of the Electors, yet they enter'd the *Palatinate*; and after several Skirmishes, the Princes of *Lislebonne* and *Vaudemont* coming to encamp near the Enemy, a Battel was fought, wherein one part of the Electors Army was cut in pieces, and the other utterly routed.

But as entire a Victory as it was, the Duke of *Lorrain* made no Advantage of it. For the Elector after such an unexpected Misfortune, fearing the loss of his Country, put himself under the Protection of *France*; and by his Resi-

dent at *Paris*, desir'd the King to interpose his Authority and Power for the concluding a War which he was no longer able to maintain. Upon which the King, who waited only for Pretences to bring down the Duke of *Lorrain*; and wisht besides that the Duke would delay to obey his Commands, that he might have an occasion to declare War against him, and seize upon his Territories, sent him Word, That he should dismiss his Army forthwith; upon pretence that his Army gave him cause of Jealousie; and therefore letting him understand, that he must absolutely resolve to lay down his Arms, according to the general Treaty of Peace, which gave him Power only to retain some Companies of his Guards, and his light Horsemen, but not to have standing Armies. Promising however to protect him against the Elector, in case he did not dismiss his Forces, or attempted any thing against him.

The Duke, who stomach'd the King of *France's* Controul, answer'd him first haughtily enough, That the King of *France* was not his Master; That he had only a small Army to defend himself against the Attempts of an open Enemy; and that if the King went about to constrain him, he made no doubt but there were Princes in *Europe* that would Infallibly stand by him. But the Kings Messenger having given him to understand, that Marshal *Cregui* was upon the Frontiers of his Territories, with Orders in case of refusal to advance with Ten Thousand Men, the Duke was so terrifi'd with that same dreadful Menace, that he thought it his best way to dismiss his Men.

And

And having taken this Resolution, he began to put it in execution. But whither it were that he did not proceed to the King of France's Liking, or that Marshal *Crequi*, who was sent into *Lorrain* with some other Commissioners to see the Dukes Army disbanded, were troubl'd to see the War so soon at an end, and started Suspensions on purpose, the Cities of *Pent a Mousson*, *St. Michael*, and some others were surpriz'd, at the same time that the Prince of *Vaudemont* was about to enter into those Places, to meet Marshal *Crequi* on the Dukes behalf, and perfect what remain'd to be done for the Kings full Satisfaction. True it is, that the Duke having made his Complaint of the Violences committed by the Marshal, the King to shew him, that he had no design but for the publick Tranquility, and not to invade the Dukes Territories, recall'd his Garisons out of those Places which the Marshal had taken, and all his other Forces out of *Lorrain*. So that *Lorrain* began to enjoy that Peace which it had not enjoy'd for above Five and thirty years before. But this Repose lasted so small a while, that it could hardly be perceiv'd.

While things thus pass'd in *Lorrain*, the Troubles in *Hungary* brake out again. There was first a Conspiracy against the Life of the Emperor, which would have prov'd fatal to Prince *Charles*, had the Conspirators succeeded in their Design. I shall not here repeat the Original of those Troubles, because it is a Thing so well known, I shall only tell ye, that Count *Serini*, who till then had adher'd to the Emperors Interests, secretly strook in with the Male-Contents,

tents, as did also Count *Nadash* sometime after; upon the score of a Palatine Employment, which the Emperor had denied him.

These two Counts, blinded by their Fury, and believing it not enough to take up Arms against the Emperor, laid a design to take away his Life; and the more easie to bring their Endeavours about, they so well dissembl'd their Resentment, that no body perceiv'd that they kept the least Intelligence with the Male-Contents.

Count *Serini*, more especially was so little suspected by his Imperial Majesty, that he had entrusted him to take care of fortifying the Frontier Towns. And at this time it was, that feigning to be wholly taken up in forwarding the Work committed to his Care, both he and *Nadish* jointly resolv'd to attempt the Emperor's Life, who was preparing to meet the Empress

his Wife, that was expected out of \* *Spain*. To this end, they had contriv'd to lay Five hundred Men, in a certain place, through which the Emperor was to ride Post, accompanied only with the Grand Master of his House, and ten or a dozen Gentlemen; and the Commander of those Troops had himself engag'd to stab

the Emperor. But in regard it was a difficult thing to succeed in so horrid a Design, Count *Nadash* had tried an infinite number of ways which still prov'd ineffectual. But at length

having

\* The 25th of April 1666, Leopold Married Margaret Maria Therese, Daughter of Philip IV. King of Spain, His second Wife was Claudia Felicitie of Austria, Dutches of Insprach, in the year 1673. And at the end of the same year he Married a third time with the Princess Palatine of Neuburgh, Elianora Maria Therese, Daughter of the Elector Palatine, lately deceas'd.

having corrupted a Carpenter that wrought in a new Apartment which the Emperor was making in his Palace for the Empress Dowager, the Carpenter set Fire to the Palace. In the mean time, though the Emperor were upon his Journey, they that were posted to seize upon his Person or assassinate him, had not the Courage to execute their Barbarous Orders. However *Nadash* was nothing disheartned at this; but believing that Poyson would be more successful; some time after he invited the Emperor and the Empress, the Imperial Princesses, and the Prince of *Lorrain*, to see some Fishing-Sport at *Pattendorff*, which was a Seat of his own. There he Feasted them Magnificently, and it was none of his fault that the Poyson'd-Plate that was prepar'd for him did not come to his share. But the Countess his Wife, apprehending his Design, caus'd the Emperor to be serv'd with a Plate resembling the other, which broke the Counts Measures, and sav'd the Lives of the Emperor, and all the Imperial Guests. Most of these things happen'd in the Years 1668, and 1669. And then it was that the Duke of *Lorrain* Married the Prince of *Vaudemon* to the Princess *d'Elboeuf*, *Anne Elisabeth* of *Lorrain*, a Princess of great Wit and Incomparable Beauty.

About the same time *Casimer V.* had resign'd his Crown, to spend the Remainder of his Days in Ease and Retirement. Now in regard the Kingdom of *Poland* is Elective, the *Polonians* to remove all Occasion of Jealousie and Civil War, from the Grandees of the Kingdom, who might have any Claim to the Royalty,

have



have all along accustomed themselves to make  
Choice of Foreign Princes.

• The Elector Palatine last deceased, Philip William, who died at Vienna, Septemb. 2. 1690, in the seventy fifth year of his Age.

The Duke of Newburgh, and the Prince of Conde, were the first that stood Competitors for the Election, and had each of them

a considerable Party in it. But the Prince of Lorrain, who had the same Design, put the Emperor upon appearing in his behalf; and then it was that he found that the Empress Dowager was absolutely for carrying on his Interests; since there was nothing which she left undone to procure him the Upper-hand of his Competitors, it being both her's and the Emperor's Design to Marry him with the Princess *Eleanora Maria*.

In the mean time, because the Business requir'd a vast Expence, (for these sorts of Elections are not to be canvass'd without store of Money) and for that the Prince had only a Pension, which the Emperor and Empress Dowager allow'd him, the Duke of Lorrain told Duke Francis, that he would furnish the Prince with Money necessary for such an Undertaking, provided he would Sign the Contract of Marriage between the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the Princess *d'Elboeuf*, and cause Prince Charles to Sign it also.

The Marriage of that Prince had been celebrated with so much Pomp and Magnificence of Ceremonies, that Duke Francis made no question but that it was the Dukes Intention to settle the Succession upon him, to the prejudice of the Prince, his Son. The Nuptials were solemniz'd

lemniz'd at *Bar* ; after which the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the Princess, being conducted to *Nanci*, made their Entry with no less Splendour, then if the Duke had been Married himself. Never did the Duke of *Lorrain* express so much outward Joy, as he did upon that Occasion. Besides the extraordinary Civilities which he paid to the new Bride, he would have the Princess of *Lislebone* to yield her the Precedence, though she were Niece to the Prince her Husband. And as for what he did for the Prince his Son, he made over to him in Sovereignty a considerable part of his Territories.

These Considerations made Duke *Francis* always refuse to Sign the Marriage of the Prince of *Vaudemont*.

But the Assistance which the Duke of *Lorrain* promis'd the Prince, and which he gave him effectually, to advance him to the Crown of *Poland*, over-ruled Duke *Francis* and the Prince to Sign not only the Marriage, but also a particular Treaty, by vertue of which Prince *Vaudemont* enter'd at the same time into Possession of the Principal Places that were assign'd him.

But notwithstanding all the Methods which the Emperor had taken, and the large Sums which the Duke of *Lorrain* had contributed toward the Advancement of his Nephew, it was impossible for the Prince to bring his Desires to pass. For in regard the Duke of *Newburgh* and the Prince of *Condé* had each of them their Faction in the Kingdom as well as he, the *Poles* fearing that neither of the Rivals would give way to him that was Elected, unless constrain'd by Force of Arms, as they had openly  
and

and severally given out ; they cast their Eyes upon a Prince of their own Nation, to avoid a Civil War, and made choice of *Michael Korobat Wiefnowisky*, who was Crown'd Sept. 29. 1669.

The Grief which Prince *Charles* conceiv'd for missing the Election in *Poland*, was attended by another Misfortune which he endur'd with no less trouble of Mind. And that was the Death of Duke *Francis* his Father, that happen'd Jan. 27. 1679. and which was as it were an ill Omen of the Consummation of those Misfortunes that were to befall the House. For the same year the K. of *France* drove *Charles IV.* quite out of his Dominions, and constrain'd him to seek out for Sanctuary among Foreign Princes, which he had much ado to find. 'Tis true, that it may well be said, the Duke drew this last Calamity upon himself. For not being able so to govern himself, as to comply with *France*, he furnished *Lewis XIV.* with so many Pretences, that he could not believe there was any Prince in *Europe*, would blame him, for despoiling the Duke of all his Dominions. I must confess, 'twas always the Dukes unhappiness to be oblig'd to receive Laws from *France*, notwithstanding his usual vaunting, that being a Sovereign, he had no dependance upon any but God and his Sword. But in regard, that as his Affairs stood, the King of *France* could humble him upon all occasions, it had been but Prudence to have comply'd with the Time, and to have dissembled with a Prince that was so formidable to him. Nevertheless, as if he had had a sufficient Power to withstand all his Enterprizes, he took so little care

to manage him, that he rather might be said to make it his Business to provoke him, and furnish him with Opportunities to seize upon his Country.

And therefore it was, that out of a desire to have an Army on foot, he levy'd Men upon the first occasion that presented it self, quite contrary to his own Interests. To which purpose the Troubles of *Hungary* furnish'd him with one occasion, which he resolv'd not to let slip, though he plainly saw that it was directly contrary to the King of *France's* Capitulation, by which he was bound not to levy any Forces, under pretence of giving *France* an occasion of Suspicion. But in regard he cover'd his Design with a pretence of sending Assistance to the Emperor, he made several Levies, and to shew that his only Aim was to aid his Imperial Majesty, he sent the Prince of *Vaudemont* to *Vienna* with Six thousand Men.

By that time the Prince of *Vaudemont* arriv'd at the Imperial Court, the Chief Heads of the Conspiracy were seiz'd upon; and because the Emperor stood in no need of Foreign Aid, in regard the Principal Cities which had revolted, had submitted and sought for Pardon, and for that the Turk was quiet, he return'd the same Thanks to the Duke of *Lorrain*, which he had done to other Princes who had offer'd him their Assistance. So that the Prince of *Vaudemont* was oblig'd to return to the Duke with all his Men, after he had us'd all his Endeavours to perswade Prince *Charles* that he might accompany him into *Hungary*, whither he was going to be General of the Horse; a Command

mand which the Emperor had conferr'd upon him.

Toward the latter end of the Year 1668. there was a League made between *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland*, which was call'd the *Triple League*; the *Hollanders* being desirous by means of that League to stop the Progress of the French Conquests in the Low-Countries, which alarum'd all *Europe*, but chiefly the *United Provinces*.

Thereupon, while the Prince of *Vaudemont* was at *Vienna*, the Duke of *Lorraine* had sent one of the Masters of his Requests into *Holland*; which made all People, and *France* particularly, conjecture, that the Duke had a design of entering into the Triple Alliance: and of this she made her Complaint. But that which absolutely spoiled all, was this, that the King having by virtue of his own Authority, settled Courts of Audience in all the Frontiers of *Lorraine*, and even in *Lorraine* it self, upon occasion of a Squabble that happen'd between the Duke, and the King's Superintendant in the Country of *Messin*, the Duke order'd the Posts to be taken down, upon which were erected the Arms of *France*: and in regard the Duke's Commands were but too punctually obey'd, the King of *France*, who desir'd no more than a Pretence of this Nature, was so highly incens'd, that from that very moment, he resolv'd not only to seize upon the Duke's Estates, but upon his Person also.

The King had a considerable Force already upon the Frontiers of *Champagne* and the Country of *Messin*; which he made a show of Quartering



tering there to employ them against *Holland*. And with these Men it was that he resolv'd to attempt the Surprizal of *Nanci*: and the Marquis of *Fueillade* was order'd to put that Enterprize in Execution. Who being enjoin'd to take all the Care imaginable not to fail of his Blow, posted himself one Night with some Horse and Dragoons, in a Wood that lyes within a quarter of a League of the City; believing he might enter the Town the next Morning by Break of Day, before the Duke was up. But in short, the Duke of *Lorrain* escap'd this surprize.

However the Marquis, who knew nothing that the Duke was inform'd of his Design, immediately seiz'd upon the Gates of the Palace, which he broke open with Axes and Hatchets; at what time the Princesses of *Vaudemont* and *Lislebon* shew'd themselves from a Balcony, and endeavour'd to put a stop to so much Violence. But the Marquis made his way thorough, and entering the Palace like a Madman, after he had romag'd all the Appartments, was so enrag'd that he had mis'd of his Prey, that he Stabl'd all the Horses of his Cavalry in the Rooms of State.

Soon after Marshal *Cregui* enter'd *Lorrain* with a considerable Body of an Army, where he committed unheard of Hostilities; not sparing the meanest Houses of Pleasure, which were either Burnt or Plunder'd. He was no sooner arriv'd at *Nanci*, but he caus'd the Duke's Palace to be Plunder'd, and carried away all the Moveables, all the Papers, and all the Arms which he found there to *Metz*. He found little

tle or no Trouble in making himself Master of the small Places, which he caus'd to be immediately dismantled: and as for *Chace, Espinale*, and some other Fortresses, which the Duke had furnish'd with the choicest of his Men, the Marshal no sooner Besieg'd 'em, but they surrender'd; those Places not being strong enough to withstand an Army of Five and twenty Thousand Men.

The Duke, who saw himself thus stript of all his Territories, yet knew not how to stop the Torrent, in regard that all Men were afraid of embroyling themselves with *France*, wrote to almost all the Princes of *Europe*, earnestly soliciting them, to perswade the King to restore him his Country: But he was always inexorable, as he has all along to this day continu'd, though he Protested in a Letter, that he wrote at the same time to the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*, *That he never had any Intention to advantage himself by the Spoils of the Duke of Lorrain*. For though he would sometimes consent to restore the Duke or Prince *Charles*, yet it was always under such severe Conditions, that both the one and the other chose rather to live depriv'd of their Dominions, than to purchase 'em at that Rate.

Prince *Charles* was astonish'd, when he understood the deplorable Condition to which the Duke of *Lorrain* was reduc'd. But nothing griev'd him more, than his own want of Power to Revenge the Bloody Outrages which his Family had suffer'd; and the thought of that it was, which over-whelm'd him with Sorrow. Nevertheless, in regard it was a Misfortune without

without Remedy, he endeavour'd to dissemble his Despair, flattering himself, that if the Emperor had but once reduc'd the Male-Contents that so he might be able to turn his Arms upon *France*, he should be in a Condition to repair his Losses; and make *Lewis* repent of his having not only expell'd a Sovereign Prince out of his Dominions, but of having put upon him Indignities no less Infamous than if he had been an Usurper, or the worst of Men.

With these Hopes it was that the Duke of *Lorraine* sed himself, not having any other better better course to help him in that Conjunction of his Affairs. And it is most certain that he would have reveng'd himself, had the Troubles of *Hungary* been once but thoroughly lay'd. For it was the Design of the House of *Austria* to oppose the Progress of *France*, that for a long time before, was become suspected by all her Neighbours.

And every thing seem'd well dispos'd to second the Wishes of his Imperial Majesty. For he had discover'd the Conspiracy against his Person. Prince *Francis Ragotski*, who was one of the Chief of the Male-Contents was return'd to his Obedience, and had Disbanded his Forces: and all the Troubles were look'd upon at an end. But in regard it was the Emperor's Fate, that he must enter into a War, which after it had brought him almost within a hairs breadth of Ruin, was to advance him again to be one of the most Glorious Princes of his Age, he took so little care to comply with the Hungarians, that they brake forth again into Rebellion; and the latter Troubles of that Kingdom

were an hundred times more pernicious than the Former. We shall here give ye a short Account of the Original of these Troubles, that have caus'd the Effusion of so much Blood for Twenty years together, and the Calling in of the Ottoman Assistance at the last Extremity; and has been the only Occasion of so many Calamities and Miseries, which the greatest Part of Germany still bewails.

At what time the Emperor had laid his Design to reduce the Hungarian Male-Contents, after the Discovery of the Conspiracy already mention'd, he sent an Army into that Kingdom, which committed therein an infinite number of Hostilities. On the other side, the Hungarians, who had had no hand in the Conspiracy, seeing the Troubles were wholly appear'd upon Prince *Ragotski's* laying down his Arms, believ'd that the Emperor would have drawn off his Forces that ruin'd all before 'em; but their Expectations were no way satisfied. Thereupon they made their Complaints that the Innocent were envelop'd among the Guilty; and that the Germans, never considering they were not in an Enemies Country, yet committed the same Disorders they had done some Months before: but the Emperor would not listen to any Complaints. On the other side, General *Spork*, being reinforc'd with a considerable Body sent him from *Babonia*; entered into the very Heart of the Country; his Infantry being Commanded by the Marquis of *Baden*, and the Cavalry by Prince *Charles*.

Upon this the Hungarians, who never expected to see an Army where no Enemy

no Enemy made any Opposition, were in such a Consternation, that they resolv'd to Arm themselves against the Emperor : and this they did accordingly in all Parts, where they thought themselves to be strong enough.

But in regard the Imperial Army was very numerous, the Male-Contents were hard put to it. General *Spork* immediately seiz'd upon all the Passes to prevent their flight into Foreign Countries ; and advancing to the Principal Places, with fifteen Regiments, to furnish them with Garisons, he no sooner appear'd before those Places, but they set open their Gates to him ; so that there was only *Muran* that made any Resistance. But the Prince of *Lorraine* coming before it, with a considerable Detachment of Horse and Foot, and having presently possessed himself of a Hill which commanded the Town, he intrench'd himself, and summon'd the Countess of *Wisselini*, who was Mistress of the Place, to Surrender ; threatening to give no Quarter, if he took it by Storm. The Countess who was within the Town that a sufficient Number of Male-Contents, who had betaken themselves thither for Refuge, made a shew at first of holding out. But at length, considering that her resistance would be in vain, since the Prince was Master of a Post so Advantageous, she resolv'd to Capitulate. So that all the strong Holds being fill'd with Garisons, General *Spork* and the Prince of *Lorraine* return'd to *Vienna*, to give an Account to the Emperor of their Expedition.

In the Year 1672. the King of *France* Declar'd War against the Low-Countries, and



within one Month made himself Master of Two and thirty Towns, that were all Places of good Defence. For those Provinces at that time were divided into two or three Factions; and in regard that *France*, who made the best Advantage of every thing, fomented those Divisions underhand, it was no such extraordinary thing to make such considerable Conquests in so short a time; besides, that there was a great suspicion that Treachery assisted his Successes. However it were, the French Army no sooner appear'd before a Place, but they found the Gates open, or at least it was not long before they were open'd. So that the French who were in that Campagne, were wont to say, That they rather travell'd through those Cities, than besieg'd 'em; and that if they had not met with some Resistance at *Nimeghen*, they should not have known they had been at War. The King also who was present at all these last Exploits, had a particular Eye upon *Amsterdam*, and he mis'd but little of his Design. But the Inhabitants letting loose their Sluces, rather chose to seek their safety in a Deluge of Water that environ'd 'em, and to suffer all manner of Hardships, than to lose their Liberty: which disappointed the Measures of *France*.

Now in regard the Country lay under Water, the King finding it impossible for him to advance his Conquests any farther, return'd to *Paris*, leaving his Armies under the Conduct of Marshal *Turenne*. At the same time also the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, alarm'd by these Victories of the *French*, and seeing that the King

had

had got Possession of *Wesel*, and some other Towns that belong'd to him in particular, resolv'd to take the Field, and stop so rapid a Progress; as also to oppose the Designs of the Elector of *Cologne*, and Bishop of *Munster*, who had both likewise Declar'd against *Holland*. Nevertheless, because he found himself not strong enough to drive the French out of his Dominions had they attempted to enter (for there was all the Probability in the World, that they had such a Design) he had so successfully manag'd a Negotiation at the Court of *Vienna*, that he had perswaded the Emperor to joyn him with a Body of Fifteen thousand Men, under the command of *Montecuculi*. So that the Elector found himself, toward the beginning of *October*, in a condition to Encamp above *Mayence*, between the *Mein* and the *Rhine*, with an Army of Thirty thousand Men.

At the same time, the Duke of *Lorrain*, joyn'd the Elector with some Regiments which he had still in *Burgundy*; and Prince *Charles*, who had refus'd some Propositions, which the King of *France* had made him, as not being for his Advantage, serv'd in the same Army, as General of the Horse. But the Prince met with no opportunity to signalize himself; for besides that *Montecuculi* had his Reasons why he would not venture his Army, and for that he had to do with Marshal *Turenne*, the Prince de *Lokowitz*, having delay'd the Execution of the Emperor's Orders, both this and the following Campaign pass'd over without any considerable Action; which occasion'd the Fall of that Minister.

Toward the end of the Year 1673. the King of *Poland*, who had Married the Emperor's Sister, the Princess *Eleanora-Maria*, died. Now in regard the Emperor had some thoughts of Marrying Prince *Charles* to that Princess, could he have obtain'd the Crown of *Poland*, resolv'd to make up this Match, upon the decease of King *Michael*, in regard that now the Prince had new hopes that he might ascend the Throne of that Kingdom. For there was great Probability, that if he Married the Queen of *Poland*, the *Polanders* would sooner Elect him to be their King than any other Foreign Prince; for that, besides the Solicitation of the Emperor, which could not but be of very great weight, as Affairs then stood, the *Grandees* of *Poland* had all along testify'd a very great Respect and Esteem for the Queen.

They who aspired to that Crown, at that time, were the Prince of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Muscovie*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *York*, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the Eldest Son of the Duke of *Neuburgh*, who had likewise a design to Marry the Queen.

Toward the beginning of *May* 1674. The *Grandees* of *Poland*, who were concern'd in the Election of the King, met at *Warsaw*, the Place where usually the Kings are Elected. There among the rest, arriv'd the Grand Marshal *Sobieski*, first of all, with a considerable number of Soldiers that were quarter'd in the Villages round about; none but his own Regiment being suffer'd to accompany him into the  
City

City when he made his Entry. Which after he had once made, the Ambassadors of Foreign Princes had their several Audiences. The Pope's Nuncio who was introduc'd first of all, made his Harangue in Latin, and recommended to the Electors the Choice of a Catholick King. The Emperor's Ambassador had his Audience the next day; who desir'd the same thing, but withal desir'd the Electors to cast their Eyes upon a Prince who was devoted to the Interests of the House of *Austria*, and to favour the Desires of the Queen. The Bishop of *Marseilles*, who was but newly arriv'd, had a most magnificent Audience. That Prelate, who was a Person full of witty Craft, and dextrous Insinuation, was sent by the King of *France* with large Sums of Money to corrupt the Great Men of the Kingdom, or to offer Assistance to *Poland*, then at War with the Turks. He made an Eloquent Speech, wherein, after he had recommended to the Assembly the Election of a King that would be no Enemy to *France*, he told them plainly without any Circumlocutions, that the Prince of *Lorraine* was not fit for the Government of a Kingdom. The Ambassadors of the Duke of *Neuburgh*, the Prince of *Lorraine*, and the rest of the Princes, Competitors for that Crown, had every one their Audience in their Turns, and forgot nothing to incline the Ballance in favour of their Masters. However all People thought that the Prince of *Lorraine* would have carried it from all the rest of the Competitors; and the Prince too thought himself so sure of it, that he went and lay near the Frontiers of the Kingdom, to give

the greater Courage to those that were of his Party. In short, there was all the likelihood imaginable that he would have been preferr'd in that Election. For besides, that the *Lithuanians* had already declar'd in his Favour, he was supported by the Emperor and the Queen, who had a very considerable Party in the Kingdom. But the Bishop of *Marseilles*, who presently saw which way the Byass of Affairs ran, and fear'd nothing more than the Election of Prince *Charles*, labour'd might and main to hinder him, and put the Duke of *Neuburg* into Nomination; to which purpose he had already won the Bishop of *Cracovia*, who presid'd in the Assembly, instead of the Primate of *Poland*, who was then Sick. And in regard that the Bishop of *Cracovia* had given the Nobility of the Kingdom to understand that it was far more for their Advantage to be protected by the King of *France* than by the Emperor, by reason of the vast Sums of Money which was flung among 'em with a lavish Profusion, he had shak'n 'em already in favour of *Neuburg*. And indeed the Polanders were the rather inclin'd to hearken to the Bishop, in regard they were somewhat angry with his Imperial Majesty, for having preferr'd the Protection of the *Hollanders* before Theirs, notwithstanding their strict Alliance by the Marriage of the Queen his Sister with the King deceas'd. Nevertheless, the *Lithuanians*, in respect to the Queen's Interests, persisted still to choose Prince *Charles*: while the Polanders were divided between the Prince of *Neuburg*, and a Prince of their own Country. Upon which the Bishop of *Marseilles* endeavour'd



deavour'd to make the best of this Division. And seeing 'twas impossible to make them choose the Prince of *Neuburgb*, he insinuated into the *Polanders*, on purpose to put by Prince *Charles* from the Crown, that they ought to exclude all the Forraign Princes, and that they could not do better than to cast their Eyes upon the Grand Marechal *Sobieski*, who had so gloriously signaliz'd himself at the Battel of *Choczyn*, where the Turks had lost above Fourteen Thousand Men, with all their Artillery and Baggage.

Thus above Fifteen Days were spent in Contests, when at length they resolv'd to determine this great Affair. Nevertheless, being willing to understand the Queens Sentiments before they came to a Conclusion, they sent certain Bishops to know her final Inclinations. To which the Queen made Answer, That she was under the Protection of the States of the Kingdom, upon whom she wholly rely'd : And that as for what concern'd the Election of a new King, she hop'd that she should not be forsaken by her Friends ; protesting withal, that she desir'd no other King, nor no other Husband, than the Prince of *Lorrain*, whom the Emperor had design'd her. And when they desired to know the last Resolution of the *Lithuanians*, they presently reply'd, That since the Crown was only demanded by the Ambassadors for the Princes of *Lorrain* and *Neuburgb*, the rest were none of 'em to be thought of ; and therefore they had fix'd their Resolutions upon the Prince of *Lorrain* ; adding withall, that they would leave the Assembly if their choice were deny'd. This Answer being carry'd

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ry'd to the Grand Mareschal and the French Ambassador, did not a little alarm the latter. But the Grand Mareschal was so far from being concern'd, that with a Smiling Countenance he told some of the Lords that were with him, That if the *Lithuanians* left the Assembly, the *Polanders* would take Possession of it.

Now in regard that the Grand Mareschal was well assur'd, that they would exclude the Foreign Princes, and that the Affair would be determin'd in his Favour, he repair'd himself to the Assembly; where he was no sooner come, but the Vaivod *Ruski* propos'd him, without so much as taking notice of any other of the Competitors; and that Proposal being agreed to by almost all the Vaivods, he was Proclaim'd King the next day, being the 20th of May 1674.

*Sobieski* was no sooner Elected, but the Queen sent the Prince Intelligence of it. She let him know how extreamly it griev'd her, that she had mist in procuring his Election; that if he had not a Crown, it was none of her Fault: that it was sufficient he was Worthy of one; that she lookt upon her self no less Unfortunate in his loss than he could be: And that she hop'd, that one day a more happy Destiny would befall both the one and the other. The Prince made Answer to the Person that deliver'd the Message, That he was really Unfortunate, in regard that being disappointed of a Crown, he saw himself depriv'd of his more pleasing Expectations: That if he desir'd to be advanc'd to the Throne of *Poland*, 'twas only that he might by that means aspire to a Happiness which he preferr'd before all the Empires of the World.

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Nevertheless, that he had this to lessen his Despair, that she had been pleas'd to shew him such an extraordinary Affection in an Affair of so high a Concern. However, he could not forbear from breaking forth into a vehement Indignation against the Author of his Misfortune. He told the Gentleman, that it proceeded from the foul Practices of the King of *France*, and the subtle Artifices of his Publick Minister, who had frustrated his Design; yet, that perhaps he should not be always so unhappy, but that one day he might be Reveng'd of a Prince, that seem'd only to be Born to trouble him and all the World beside.

In short, upon his departure from the Frontiers of *Poland*, where he lay, he return'd to *Vienna*, where at the very Moment of his arrival, he besought the Emperor to permit him to rejoyne the Imperial Army in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Count de *Souches*. Nor did the Emperor, whom the Prince had incens'd against *France* after an extraordinary manner, think fit to detain him that Campaigne, as he had purpos'd to do. So that leaving *Vienna* with all speed imaginable, he came time enough to be at the Battel of *Seneff*, one of the most memorable that have happen'd in this Age. The desire which the Prince had to signalize himself at such a time, and to render himself formidable to *France*, caus'd him to expose himself equally to the meanest Souldier in the Army. The Signal of Battel was no sooner given, but he threw himself into the thickest of his Enemies, with a contempt of danger not to be express'd. And his presence prov'd fatal to several  
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of the French. But as it was impossible that a Prince who expos'd himself so openly as he did, should scape without a Wound, he receiv'd a Gash in the Head, which forc'd him to retire out of the Battel.

But how dangerous soever the Wound were, he was in a Condition to act again the next Campagne in *Germany*, where Marshal *Turenne* Commanded the French Army. Against him the Emperor had oppos'd *Montecuculi*; who would not take charge of the Imperial Army the year before, because he would not be Subservient to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*. Now in regard that *Turenne* and *Montecuculi* were both Experienc'd Generals, that were shie one of another, they only watch'd one anothers Motions at first. *Montecuculi* pass'd and repass'd the *Rhine* several times; making a shew as if he intended to sit down before *Philipsburgh*, which bridl'd the *Palatinate*. Marshal *Turenne* coasted along the River on *Strasburgh* side, during the movements of the Confederate Army. But in regard he mistrusted *Strasburgh*, though that City had enter'd into a Neutrality some time before, he resolv'd himself to pass the *Rhine* with his whole Army.

This was an attempt which the Confederates thought impossible, in regard their Army was more numerous than the French. In short, Marshal *Turenne* having laid a Bridge over the River against a certain place environ'd with a Wood and Hills, the Imperialists thought it was only a design to pass over one part, since they could not see which way he could get his Carriages and Baggage to follow him. But in regard that *Turenne* had accustom'd his Soldiers to all sorts of Labour,  
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the obstacle which the Imperialists believ'd invincible was soon remov'd. So that his Army having pass'd the *Rhine*, he presently made himself Master of *Wildstat*, designing to tire out the Imperialists, who presently march'd toward *Offenburgh*, *Montecuculi* fearing least the French should attempt that place. And indeed, the Imperial Army suffer'd great Hardships, in regard that they were depriv'd of their Communication with *Strasburgh*. Nor did the French suffer less for want of Victuals, but chiefly of Forage, which began to grow so scarce, that the Horses had nothing for above Eight days but Leaves from the Trees.

In the mean time, because the Bridge which Marshal *Turenne* had laid over the *Rhine* extremely annoy'd the Imperialists, and that it was of great importance to make themselves Masters of it; the Prince of *Lorraine* and Count *Caprara* undertook to effect it. To which purpose they resolv'd to fall upon the French Army, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, while two other Detachments made a false Attack upon two other Posts. Thereupon they march'd all Night, having each of them between Three and Four Thousand Horse and Dragoons. The Prince of *Lorraine* was to fall upon the Enemies Rear, and perform'd his Duty accordingly; but not being seconded by the other Detachments, who were to Attack the French Camp in several parts at the same time, as was concluded upon, he was forc'd to Retreat, because he perceiv'd a great Body of the choicest of the French Troops advancing toward him. For Marshal *Turenne* having lin'd all the Lanes through which the Prince was to pass;

pass; the Prince was constrain'd to clear his way before he could pass any farther. However he made a shift to force two or three Posts of the Enemies, and to kill about Four Hundred of their Men, and take several Prisoners of Note, among whom was *Traci*, Major General of the Infantry. He also brought away three Colours, and among the rest the Standard of the Kings Dragoons. So that although the Prince could not make himself Master of the Bridge, as he design'd; yet the Honour which he won in that Conflict was very great, as the French and *Turenne* himself acknowledg'd, as well for the vigorous Attack, as the orderly and Soldier-like Retreat which he made.

Now the two Armies lying so near each other, there pass'd not a day without some skirmishes, but they came not to a general Battel, though there were great scarcity of Victuals, as well in *Turenne's* as *Montecuculi's* Army; which one would have thought should have forc'd the two Generals to have fought for their Bread. But being both unwilling to put it to a venture, unless they could have found their Advantages, which it was a hard matter to do, both Generals being so well acquainted with each others Conduct, they only contented themselves with slight Skirmishes for fear of being too precipitate. Nevertheless, *Montecuculi* being no longer able to contend with those Distresses under which his Army labour'd, made one motion, which caus'd *Marshal Turenne* to believe he had a purpose to give him Battel. And therefore, as he was covetous of nothing more than of Honour, so he fought all opportunities

unities to acquire it, though never any General had a more Illustrious, or more dilated Reputation. Desirous therefore of Victory, he remov'd, without losing time to a Hill, where he design'd to plant a Battery. But as he was giving directions to St. *Hilaire*, Lieutenant General of the Artillery, how to dismount the Imperialists great Guns, he was shot with a Cannon Bullet; which caus'd a great Consternation in the French Army, and forc'd them to repass the *Rhine*.

*Montecuculi* desirous to make his Advantage of the Terror which he judg'd the Enemy was in, resolv'd upon a vigorous pursuit; and first he fell upon *Wildstat*, and regain'd it. With that the Count de *Lorges*, who together with the Marquis de *Vaubrun* had taken upon them the Command of the Army, being inform'd that *Wildstat* was retaken, and that the Imperialists pursu'd with a design to Fight him, drew up the Army to the best Advantage he could; and presently there began a most terrible Conflict, which lasted from Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon till Seven in the Evening, to the advantage of the Imperialists: For though the loss was great on both sides, Count de *Lorges* was constrain'd to give Ground. All Men however agree, that he made his Retreat like an experienc'd Captain; and that he did as much at such a pinch, as *Turenne* himself could have done. For *Montecuculi* try'd all ways to have engag'd him a second time. But seeing that it was in vain to continue the pursuit, by reason of the advantageous Posts where the Count entrench'd himself, he sat down before *Hagunau*;  
but

but was constrain'd in some few days after to raise the Siege, to meet the Prince of *Condé*, who Commanded the French Army, and was got as far as *Strasburgh*. At this Siege it was, that the Prince of *Lorraine* was wounded with a Musquet Shot, but so favourably, that it did him little or no harm.

Soon after *Turenne* was Slain, the Duke of *Lorraine* his Uncle died upon the 20th of September. A Prince, who in his Life time had undergone many Severities of adverse Fortune, and who after he had been in several dangerous Battels, died in a small Village near *Coblentz*, in the Seventy Second year of his Age. He was not so happy as to see himself restor'd to his Dominions. Nevertheless it may be said, that he died accompanied with Fame and Honour to his Grave. For he expir'd soon after the defeat of Marshal *Cregui* in a remarkable Battel, and after the taking of *Treves*, where Marshal *Cregui* was made a Prisoner of War, after he had obstinately refus'd to Surrender the place, which it was so impossible for him to keep, that most of the Officers were forc'd to tell him, That they did not intend to loose their own Lives to recover the Honour he had lost at the Battel of *Taverne*, and so made the Capitulation themselves without him.



# THE LIFE OF Charles V.

DUKE of Lorraine and Bar,  
And Generalissimo of all the  
Imperial Forces.

## THE THIRD BOOK.

SO soon as the Prince of Condé was arriv'd near Strasburgh with his Army, Montreuculi march'd the Imperialists on the same side, so that both Generals were almost in view of each other. Never was the Prince of Lorraine so serviceable to the Imperial Army as at that time. For besides that they were oblig'd to send out Detachements every

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Hour,

Hour, *Montecuculi* was resolv'd to give the Prince of *Conde* Battel, so soon as he found a favourable opportunity. Nevertheless, as necessary as he was in *Alasia*, he no sooner understood the Death of his Uncle, by an Officer which the Prince of *Vaudemont* sent to him, but he repaired in all haste to the small City of *Kymen*, seated in *Honfrack*, at the request of the said Prince, who came thither the Night before his Father Died, and Commanded the *Lorrainers* in his Fathers stead. Now in regard these two Princes liv'd in perfect Amity together, and that they were assisted by the Marquis of *Grana*, who was a Friend to both, they so order'd their particular Affairs, that both were highly Satisfi'd. After which Prince *Charles* took his leave, and carried the *Lorrainers* along with him into the Emperors Service.

Prince *Charles*, whom for the future I am to call *Charles V.* or the Duke of *Lorrain*, receiv'd from all parts the Compliments of Condoliment and Congratulation, there being no Prince or State in *Europe* that did not acknowledge him for the Successor to *Charles IV.* and who did not Respect him as a Sovereign, and a Brother, except the King of *France*, who usurp'd his Dukedoms.

However, all People flatter'd themselves, that the King would be so far from refusing him his Titles, that he would restore to him his Territories. In a word, *Madam de Guise* having begg'd leave to write to the new Duke of *Lorrain*, and desiring withall to know what Title she should give him; the King made Answer, That as for her, she might give him what Titles she thought

thought fitting. Which presently made many presume, that he had an Inclination to reinvest him in his Dutchie: So much the rather, because, that when the Count of *Windisgratz*, in the Emperors Name, Solicited at *Paris* the Restoration of *Charles IV.* the King told him several times, That he had never seiz'd upon the Dukes Territories, but because he could put no Confidence in him; but when they came to Descend to a Prince that would be more Faithful to him, he should never make any scruple to restore them to him. But the King was far from any such Intention; and the first Mark that he gave of it, was, that he would not Mourn for the Duke of *Lorrain* but in Black; as looking upon him to be no other than a Subject of his Crown, and not as a Sovereign Prince; for then he would have put on Purple, according to the Custom of the Kings of *France*. But that was not all. It was about two years before, that the King of *Sweden* offer'd his Mediation of a Peace between the Empire, the Low Countries, and *France*. The City of *Coblentz* was also accepted for the place of Conference; and the Plenipotentiaries were already met; and the Emperor seem'd overjoy'd at the King of *Sweden's* Mediation. But afterwards coming to consider that he had Sign'd with *Holland*, *Spain*, and the best part of the Circles of the Empire, more especially with the Protestants, this gave him so much hope of Re-establishing the House of *Austria*, that unwilling to loose so favourable an opportunity, he made an Attempt, that seem'd in some Measure to be against the Law of Na-

tions, on purpose to break off the Mediation, and put the King of *France* out of all hopes of any Reconciliation, unless he resolv'd to make a Restitution of all that he had Conquer'd from *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Lorrain*. The Attempt

\* Of whom mention has been already made in this History, under the Name of the Count of *Furstenberg*. This Family derives its Name from a City of *Germany* in *Suabia*; and they that are of this Family are Princes of the Empire.

was to seize upon \* Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh*, the Elector of *Cologne*'s Plenipotentiary: And this was Executed in *Cologne* itself, in the view of all the rest of the Plenipotentiaries, by the Orders of the Marquis of *Grana*, Governor of *Bon*, who after that caus'd some Wagons of the Ambassadors of *France*, wherein were Fifty Thousand Crowns, to be seiz'd, and brought away from the same City. Upon which the Plenipotentiaries of the rest of the Princes, not thinking themselves safe in *Cologne* after two such Actions as these, oblig'd the Magistrate to go and Demand Satisfaction of the Marquis, who had already secured Prince *William* in his Garrison. But all the Magistrate could say was to no purpose: For the Marquis made Answer, That having done nothing but by the Emperors Order, which he produc'd in Writing, he could neither set the Prince at Liberty, nor restore the Money, without a new Order from his Imperial Majesty. This so enrag'd the King of *France*, that he Commanded his Ambassadors to tell those from the King of *Sweden*, that they had Order to return, and that he was resolv'd to be Reveng'd by force of Arms for the Injury done to himself and the Elector of *Cologne*'s Plenipotentiary. Thus the French Ambassadors

ambassadors departed; and then it was to no purpose for the rest to stay any longer. But the Advantage which the King of *France* got by this Rupture, was this, that having over-perswaded the King of *Sweden*, that the Confederates had no value for him; That in scorn of his Mediation they had seiz'd upon Prince *William*, and refus'd to release him at his Request, and that it was himself indeed that had received the Affront, by these Artifices he engag'd him to his Interest.

This Violence upon the Person of Prince *William*, and the Injury which the King of *France* had receiv'd in particular, made all men believe, that there would be no Peace in hast in *Europe*, and that the King of *France* would never consent to renew the Negotiation. Nevertheless, at the Request of the King of *England*, whose Mediation was generally approv'd of by all the Princes that were interest'd in that War, since the *Swedes* had declar'd for *France*; and at the earnest Sollicitation of the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, who openly declar'd, that he prefer'd the Advantages of Peace before the Liberty of the Prince his Brother; the King was prevail'd upon to let the Reasons of his Honour give way to those of his Interest. And having accepted *Nimeghen* for the Place of Treaty, he sent thither for his Plenipotentiaries the D. of *Vitry*, M. *Colbert*, and the Count *d'Avaux*.

Now in regard there was a Necessity for granting Passports on both sides for the Ambassadors of the Princes concern'd, all *Germany* being up in Arms; and the King of *France* also granted a Passport for the Duke of *Lorrain's*



Plenipotentiaries, wherein he call'd him Cousin, and barely Prince of *Lorrain*. Upon which the Duke refus'd the Passport, and complain'd to the King of *England*, That the King of *France* had not given him his Titles of Brother and Duke of *Lorrain*. The King of *England* to remove this Obstacle, propos'd to the Confederates that he might grant all the Passports himself, and to facilitate the Success of this Expedient, he wrote to the Emperor, and caus'd a Memorial to be Presented to the *States General*; wherein he set forth the Reasons which had oblig'd him to propound this Expedient as he had done in his Letter to the Emperor. But his Imperial Majesty made Answer that the Proposal could not be accepted; that things were to be done in due form; and that the King of *France* could not alter the usual Style of Passports, but must give to every one the Titles that belong'd to 'em. The States General went higher, for they spoke out in plain terms, and which also serv'd for an Answer to the King of *England*, that the Confederates and themselves were very much surpriz'd that the King of *France* should not give Prince *Charles* the Title of Duke of *Lorrain*, considering that the Treaty in the Year 1662, by which he was lawfully possess'd of the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar* could not be lookt upon but as null and void, as being in the first place concluded with a Prince who had no Right or Power; besides, that in the second place, it was notoriously known, that the King had never perform'd that Treaty, nor the Clause which *Charles IV.* insert'd, which was one of the Principal

principal Things contain'd in it. They added, That the King of France had made no mention of the Treaty 1662. in that of 1663. And that having, after the Death of Charles IV. granted Permission to those of his House to give him the Title of Duke of Lorrain, their Wonder was so much the more that he should refuse the same Title to the new Duke, and by that means put a stop to a Peace, which all Europe so vehemently thirsted after. The King answer'd all these Objections. But in regard it was his Interest, that the Peace should be concluded, after he had declar'd that the Titles either given or omitted could do him no Prejudice, he caus'd another Passport to be drawn, wherein he gave the New Duke the Title of Brother, and Duke of Lorrain. Upon which the Duke wrote the following Letter to the States General:

High and Potent Lords,

**T**He Constancy which your High and Mightinesses have shewn in the Support of my Interest till this very time, in Pursuance of the Alliance into which you have done me the Honour to admit me, having constrain'd the King of France to allow me those Titles which God and Nature has given me, I find my self oblig'd to testify to your High and Mightinesses my Joy and my Acknowledgment, not only in regard of my particular Interests, but much more by reason of the Satisfaction your Highnesses receive, when they find their Designs successful. Nevertheless, as all your Cares have been of my Interests, I desire you to believe

that I shall acknowledge them to the utmost of my Power as long as I live, and that if at present any Opportunity should present it self to give you Proofs of my sincerity, I should be passionately desirous to lay hold of it. This is the sincere Protestation of, &c.

Charles Lorrain.

The French Army that lay in *Alsatia*, was to be commanded this Year 1676. by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, whom the King had preferr'd before the Prince of *Condé* by means of the Intrigues of *Monsieur de Louvois*, who was no Friend to the Prince; and the Imperial Army was to be commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*. For *Montecuculi* having got leave to retire to *Vienna*, had resign'd his Command by Order of the Emperor.

Toward the beginning of the Campagne therefore, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* departed from *Schelestadt* at the Head of near Fifty thousand Men, and after seven or eight days March, Encamp'd his Army upon fresh Intelligence, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was coming against him, with an Army not much inferiour in number to his, and that he was just upon passing the *Saar*. He could not believe at first that the Duke had any design to fight him; For in regard he was rather perswaded that the Duke would Besiege *Philipsburgh*, which had been block'd up for some time, he could not imagine he would venture a Battel. But being confirm'd by some Prisoners that the Imperial Army continu'd their March, he advanced him-  
self

self with a numerous Detachment, and gave Orders for the rest of the Army to follow him. The Duke had already seiz'd upon a Rising Ground, from whence he poured his small Shot upon the Enemy. So that the Guard which *Luxembourg* had caus'd to pass beyond a little River that parted the two Armies, being forc'd to repass again, he lin'd the Hedges with his Dragoons and Infantry, for fear the Imperialists should come on too fast. But that could not stop 'em; so that there happen'd a Fight that lasted about two Hours, not at all to the Advantage of the Duke of *Luxembourg*.

Now though it were impossible as well for the Imperialists as the French to stay long in those Posts where the Battel was fought, by reason of the great Difficulty of bringing Provisions to the Armies; yet both Generals entrench'd themselves, as if they had not been to stir during the whole Campaign; but in regard the Posts were not tenable, they were oblig'd to quit 'em; and the Marshal was the first that mov'd. He sent away his heavy Baggage toward the beginning of the Night, when the Duke least expected it; and having decamp'd with all the Silence imaginable, the Marshal left in the Lanes as many Foot and Dragoons as he thought necessary to favour their Retreat. But the Imperialists perceiving they had decamp'd, presently clear'd the Lanes of the Enemy, and having open'd a passage for the Cavalry, they thunder'd with such a Fury upon the Rear of the French, and the Duke of *Lorrain* fought with such a steady Courage, that if Count *Hamilton*, who had posted himself upon  
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an Advantageous ground, had not put himself with his Pike in his hand at the Head of his Regiment, there had been an end of the French Army.

Marshall *de Luxemburgh* thus deliver'd by the Bravery of that English Gentleman, who nevertheless was slain at the same time, after his stout resistance had put the Imperial Army to a kind of disorder, which oblig'd the Duke to Sound a Retreat, got over to the other side of a small River, by the side of which he encamp'd and entrench'd his Army. But the Duke following him thither, encamp'd within sight of him, and ply'd the Marshal so thick with his Cannon, that the French were strangely terrified. Nevertheless, in regard they were posted so advantageously, that it was impossible to force their Camp, the Duke drew off and bent his March for *Strasburgh*, which had declar'd for the Emperor after the Death of *Turenne*, and having sent away his Artillery and his Infantry by Water, march'd directly for *Philipsburgh*, which he had Orders to Besiege.

Prince *Frederick of Baden Dowlach*, General of the Army of the Circles, was entrusted with the Management of the Siege, where he met with many Difficulties, in regard the place was Strong, the Garison very numerous, and the *Rhine* no less troublesome, through the swelling of the Waters, though it were a Season that Inundations are not very frequent. Nevertheless, the Prince, who had under him Prince *Herman of Baden*, General of the Emperor's Artillery, and the famous *Wertmuller*, made himself



himself Master of the Place after a vigorous Defence of Four Months, *Luxemburgh* not being able to relieve it; by reason of the Bravery and Vigilance of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who worsted him several times during the Siege; and at length forc'd him to Retreat, though at the Head of Fifty thousand Men, almost in view of the Besiegers. It is said, that the Prince of *Condé*, who understood the Mystery of War much better than *Luxemburgh*, being ask'd by the King what was to be done to save *Philipsburg*; made answer, That he must keep the Duke of *Lorrain* from Besieging it; but since the Error was committed, he ought to hazard the Army what e're it cost him, and force the Enemy in his Entrenchments. But *Luxemburgh* was so far from doing that, that he only spun out the time, and gave Ground at last; which render'd him contemptible: insomuch that a Thousand Lampoons were made upon him in the Army; and among the Rest this was One,

*Upon the Rhine a Monster of a Beast  
Threaten'd Prodigious Havock to his Foes;  
Though Lorrain never fear'd him in the least.  
But bravely did the Monster still oppose.  
For why? the Monster had no Head at all,  
But arms a Hundred Thousand, great and small.*

But at last, *Luxemburgh* alham'd that he had perform'd nothing considerable with so brave an Army, bent his March for *Schelestadt*, with a design to Repair his Honour in *Brissac*. To which purpose, he set his Men to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine* below *Brissac*. But he was so long about it, that the Duke had leisure to op-  
pote

pose his Designs, and put a good Garison into *Friburgh*, the only Place that was in danger on that side. So that all *Luxemburgh's* Achievements terminated in Plundering some few Villages, and putting little Garisons into petty Places, to prevent the Duke, that follow'd him close from falling upon Him at a Disadvantage, as if he had been only upon the Defensive part. After which having repass'd the *Rhine*, he encamp'd between *Brisac* and *Basle*, while the Duke of *Lorrain*, still observing his Motions, advanc'd toward the latter City, fearing lest he might have some design upon it, though it were a City that stood Neuter.

Now in regard the Weather began to grow very unseasonable, and for that there was nothing more to be done in those Posts, both Armies resolv'd to retire to their Winter Quarters. *Luxemburgh* sent one part of his Men in to *Alsacia*, and the other part into *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*, who in the way seiz'd upon the Country of *Montbeillard*, which as the King afterwards publicly declar'd, was done, not that he had any design to make himself Master of *Montbeillard*, but only to take it into his Protection; however the Prince and Princess not caring for such Protectors, retir'd to *Basle*. As for the Duke of *Lorrain*, in regard his Men were very much tired out with the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, he sent them to their Winter Quarters in *Swabia* and *Franconia*, after he had taken all necessary care, that they should not be surpriz'd by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*.

The Success which the Duke had had, put him in great hopes of the same Prosperity at  
next

next year. He thought it would be no difficult matter to break into his own Country, where he knew himself to be passionately desired by his own Subjects. So that in the midst of these Thoughts he made it his Business to be early in the Field; as he was before the end of April. Now in regard he was assur'd of *Strasbourg* Bridge, he order'd his Army to Rendezvous upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, while the Prince of *Saxon* *Essenak* labour'd the laying of a Bridge over the same River to enter *Alsatia* another way. For this Prince Commanded the Army of the Circles instead of the Marquis of *Baden Dourlach*, who fell sick and Died presently after the taking of *Philipsburgh*.

The King of *France* on the other side, advertiz'd of this Design, and fearing lest the Duke of *Lorrain* should force a passage into his own Territories, if once he got footing in *Alsatia*, laid that Country waste after so terrible a manner, to deprive the Imperial Army of all Subsistence there, that he burnt up all the Villages, demolish'd the Walls and Fortifications of all the considerable Cities; except *Schelestadt*, and two or three other Towns that were strong enough to stop the Imperialists. And indeed it may be said, that the King of *France* had never so much Reason to be afraid as he had at the beginning of this Campaign. He had to do with a victorious Enemy, at the Head of above Threescore Thousand Men, and a valiant General, who fought for his own proper Interests; and who, considering the mildness of his Temper towards his own Subjects, could not fail, unless he were strongly oppos'd to make him-  
self

self Master of *Lorraine*, and carry the War into the very Heart of *France*. So that it is no wonder, considering the Fears he was in, that he was constrain'd to take that desperate course to lay desolate his own Country, and to make a wide desert of one of the goodliest Provinces of *Germany*. But this was not the only care that Monarch took. For misdoubting least *Luxemburgh* should have no better Success than he had the year before, he oppos'd *Cregui* against the Duke of *Lorraine*, with this Condition, notwithstanding all the Confidence he had in him, that he should venture nothing, but shun as much as it was possible, the coming to a Battel with the Enemy.

Nevertheless, the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was not ignorant of the Kings Fears, and saw a fair prospect of new Conquests before him, caus'd this Latin Motto to be put in his Colours, *Aut nunc aut nunquam*, Now or Never! And with these hopes he pass'd over *Strasbourg Bridge*, and bent his march directly for *Metz*, with a Resolution to force the Passes of the *Meuse*, which he believ'd would be strongly Guarded; while the Prince of *Saxon* *Essen* march'd into *Alsacia* with the Army of the Circles.

But the first thing which the Duke of *Lorraine* took care of, was to erect his Magazines at *Treves*, which made *Cregui* believe that he had some design that way. After which, advancing along the *Saar*, he sent out a strong Party, which coming before the Castle of *Illingham*, constrain'd the Garison to Surrender upon Discretion.

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He sent out another Party to seize the little Town of *Sarbruck*, to which the Governor set Fire upon the approach of the Imperialists, and retreated to the Castle. Which so incens'd the Imperialists, that they rais'd a Battery of Four pieces of Cannon, and what with their great Shot on the one side, and their Bombs on the other, the Castle was brought to that Distress in a little time, that the Governor beat a Parley, but no Capitulation would be listen'd to. So that the Governor was carry'd to *Treves*, and the best part of the Garison put to the Sword. After that the Imperialists also took the Castle of *Kirchel*. So that the Duke of *Lorraine* being thus Master of all the small Places upon the *Saar*, pursu'd the French, who lay near to the *Seille*.

Upon the approach of the Imperialists, the French pass'd that River, and not believing themselves safe enough in the place where they Encamp'd, they retreated farther off. The Duke of *Lorraine* pass'd the River in five places, and encamp'd within half a League of the Enemy: So that there was only a thick Wood, and a Hill, which hinder'd the two Armies from being in sight of each other.

The *French*, who had receiv'd at the same time a Reinforcement of Eight Squadrons of the Kings Guards of his Body, and two others of the *Gens d'Armes* and light Horse of the Guards, laid a Bridge over the *Seille* at *Longueville*, as if he had a design to repass that River. But that being only for a Bravado, he march'd directly for *Morville*, from whence he drove out the Imperialists that kept it, and then seiz'd upon some Hills, where he planted his Cannon.

So



So that all the Duke of *Lorraine* could do was to possess himself of a Wood upon the Right Hand of the French Army. And then believing the Enemy would have come out of their Trenches, he drew up his Army in order of Battel. But finding they had no such design, he endeavour'd to bring his Artillery so as to bear upon the French. But before that could be done in a place Convenient, the Imperialists were forc'd to undergo a rude brush, not a little to their Damage, though the losses of the Enemy were not inconsiderable.

The French were intrench'd in a very advantageous Place, so as not to be forc'd in their Posts. So that the Duke thought it Prudence to retreat a little farther, in hopes to draw *Cregui* into open Ground. But finding that the French avoided Battel, he repass'd the *Selle*, and being encamp'd a little nearer to *Metz* than he was before, he attack'd the Fort of *Epi*, which the Enemy had rais'd upon the River. Upon that, *Cregui* sent out a Party of Two Thousand Men to succour it; but they were so vigorously repuls'd, that a great number of the Souldiers were forc'd to throw themselves into the Water to save themselves. And the next brake down the Bridge which the Marshal had laid over that part of the River, that they might have time to Retreat before the Imperialists could be in a Condition to follow the pursuing. Nevertheless, the Duke of *Lorraine's* Forces making daily Inroads into the Country, made their way to the very Gates of *Metz* and *Thionville* to fetch in Contributions; the Duke being a Horseback Day and Night; and camp'd

it is that he exposed himself too vent'rously for a General: Inasmuch that having passed the *Saar* with the Marquis of *Grana*, and Twenty Horse, to view the Place where the French Army, commanded by *Crequi*, was beaten in the Year 1675. by the Duke his Uncle, he had like to have fallen into an Ambuscade of Three Hundred French: But being luckily informed by certain Peasants of the Danger which his unreasonable Curiosity had like to have brought him into, he had the leisure to 'scape, and send out a Party which utterly dispersed the Ambuscade.

It would be too tedious to recount the Particulars of this Campaign; which, to say truth, consisted only in a great many inconsiderable Skirmishes. For Marshal *Crequi* still retreated, when there was any probability of coming to a Battel. So that the Imperial Army, whatever Advantages they might have till then, began to suffer very much for want of necessary Provisions; which being to come from *Treves*, were with great hazard brought to the Army. For besides that *Crequi* had always Parties abroad to intercept the Wagons, the Governor of *Thionville* sent out such Numerous Detachements, that many times their Vittles cost 'em dear. And therefore the Duke, considering that these Difficulties were almost insurmountable, resolv'd to decamp from the Place where he lay. To this purpose he pass'd the *Moselle*, in hopes to compel the French to fight, in spite of their Teeth. But finding it was absolutely impossible, because they still retreated, he thought it the best course he could take

to march toward the *Meuse*, on purpose to find the Enemy Imployment on that side. And having taken this Resolution, he presently possessed himself of certain Hills which he found in his way, by that means to secure himself. Upon which, *Crequi*, believ'd that he only sought to pass the *Moselle*, but finding himself deceiv'd by the Dukes false March, did what he could to follow him: But finding it impossible to overtake him, he retreated into *Lorraine*, while the Imperial Army continu'd their March toward *Ponta Mousson*.

The King of *France* therefore, who apprehended the Dukes Design, had sent Marshal *Schombergh* with Twenty Squadrons of Horse, and some Foot, to secure *Sedan* and the Neighbouring Places. And caused all that could be removed to be carried away from *Mousson*: So that when the Duke arrived there, he found the Place deserted. However, the Army pillag'd and plunder'd several Villages, and exacted heavy Contributions. But the Duke being unwilling to venture any farther into an extream Woody Country, returned with a Design to joyn the Prince of *Saxon Essenach*, in *Alsacia*; though there were some misunderstanding between those two Generals, that did not a little prejudice the Emperors Affairs, and frustrated all the Hopes of that Campaigne: And yet never had any General more need of succour than he had.

This Prince, who some Days before had coup'd up *Monclare's* Army in such a Place, where of Necessity they must have starved or yielded, if Marshal *Crequi* had not reliev'd them, was at length penn'd up himself in an Island in the

the *Rhine*, between the Bridge of *Strasburgh* and the City; which *Crequi* with Ten Thousand Horse and Dragoons had forc'd him to betake to, with Three or Four Thousand Men, to secure himself. Now in regard that he expected either to be relieved by the Duke of *Lorraine*, or that the City of *Strasburgh* would use their Endeavours, he was resolv'd to subsist in the Island as long as it was possible; and during that time he fought with so much Fury, that *Crequi* in several Skirmishes lost whole Regiments, and several Officers of Note. But the City of *Strasburgh*, afraid of *Crequi's* Menaces, and desirous to Negotiate some Accommodation between the Two Generals, the Prince of *Saxon Eff-nach* was oblig'd to Capitulate and yield himself, upon Condition, that he should not take up Arms again, during the remainder of that Campaigne. A Condition nevertheless which *Crequi* was very unwilling to consent to, as severe as it was upon the Prince of *Saxony*; for his aim at least was, that the Prince should have yielded himself Prisoner with all his Army. But fearing, lest while he spent time in Disputes, the City of *Strasburgh* should play him some unlucky Trick, or lest the Prince should be reliev'd some other way, he accepted the Terms.

And indeed the Duke of *Lorraine* march'd Day and Night to relieve the Prince; so that he had certainly been deliver'd within a Day or two: But the News of his Misfortune reaching the Duke upon the Road, afflicted his very Soul. Nor was this the only Vexation that befel him before the end of the Campaigne. For

lieving there was no more to be done, in regard that *Crequi* still avoided a set Field, unwilling to tire out his Men, and being resolv'd to take up his Winter-Quarters betimes, he drew off. On the other side, Marshal *Crequi* made a shew of doing the same. But so soon as the Duke was far enough off from the French Army, *Crequi* Invested *Friburg* with his Horse, while his Infantry marched slowly after to lay a formal Siege to the Town.

The Duke was strangely surpriz'd to hear of this; and indeed he would hardly believe the News. But finding it confirm'd by several Couriers, he dispatch'd away a Messenger to the Governor, to assure him of Relief, and bid him not be dismay'd. But the Ways were so bad by reason the Season was so far advanc'd, that notwithstanding all the haste he could make, he was hardly got half way, before he understood that the Governor had surrender'd. This News surpriz'd him more than the former; in regard he look'd upon the Place as too strong to Capitulate so soon. For it was environ'd with a double Wall, defended by a Citadel with four Bastions, and the Garison was sufficiently numerous, as consisting of above Three Thousand Men. But Marshal *Crequi* carried on the Siege with so much Vigour and Diligence, that the Governor was at a stand, notwithstanding all his Shews of Resolution at the beginning of the Siege. The same Day also that the Place was begirt, Marshal *Schoenberg* with Three Hundred Men, seconded by some Brigades of Foot, attack't the two Redoubts upon the Hill where the Cittadel stands, and carry'd them by main Force:



Force : After which, the Trenches being opened, were advanc'd as far as the Moat ; and all the while the Cannon played so furiously upon the Walls, that they made a Breach about Eighteen Yards wide. Whereupon the Marshal sent a Summons to the Governor. To which he answered, That having learn'd his Trade among the French, he should shew himself a Scholar unworthy the Lessons they had taught him, if he did not practise them, when there was a good Occasion. This was the Martial Compliment Major General *Schultz* (for he Commanded the Place) sent back to the French General. For finding at first, that the Breach was not easie to be enter'd, by reason it was very high, and for that the Moats were no less deep, he thought that before the Enemy could fill 'em up, and make their Approaches, he might very well endure a little more Hardship ; and this was that which forced *Crequi* to drive on the Siege the more vigorously. And therefore perceiving that the Besieged did not mind the Breach, he resolv'd to lodge some of his Men upon it, which notwithstanding the danger of the Enterprize, was effected with a most daring Resolution. In the mean time Marechal *Schomberg* having carried an Ourwork that secured a Redoubt which very much annoyed the Besiegers, the Enemy fired from thence so thick into the Redoubt it self, that they who defended it were forced to yield themselves Prisoners. So that the Besiegers having got thus far forward, and *Crequi* resolving to bring the Siege to a speedy Conclusion, order'd all things to be prepared ready for a Storm. Which so

terrify'd the Governor, that he desir'd to Capitulate. And so the Place was Surrendred after a Siege of Seven or Eight days. Which made many People believe, that there was Treachery in the Main. In a word, the Imperial Officers complain'd, that they had never any Orders given them; that a Council of War had never been call'd; and that the small Resistance which the French met with made them the more bold to venture. And for a farther proof of a suspected Correspondence in the Place, his Imperial Majesty caus'd the Governor to be Arrested some time after: but not being able to Convict him of any thing but want of Courage, he gave him his Liberty again; saying only this, That he had very ill perform'd his Duty, and that the Duke of *Lorraine* could not be every where.

However, in regard that People make their Judgments of things by the Success, the Duke of *Lorraine* was blam'd for leaving the Field so soon, and not foreseeing the Siege. But those that judg'd more discreetly of the Affair, were of opinion, that it was only a piece of ill Luck that attended the Duke: and that though he had foreseen *Crequi's* Design, yet he could not foresee that such a strong Hold as *Friburg* should Surrender within a Week. That he was not to omit the giving rest to his Army for that, since he might have come soon enough to relieve the Place, had he been farther off than he was, would the Governor but have ventur'd the utmost Extremities of a Siege, rather than have Surrender'd, almost before any harm was done him.

But the French pufft up with this Success, would not stop here, but away they march'd to *Walkrick*, which together with some other Castles in the Neighborhood, they lay'd level with the Ground; and finding that was all they could do, they repass'd the *Rhine*, and betook themselves to their Winter Quarters.

During these Transactions in *Germany*, the Negotiations for Peace went on, though very slowly, at *Nimeghen*. For the Mediators were along time before they could regulate the Ceremonies, and manage the Concerns of every Prince; besides, that the Ambassadors of the Princes interest'd, were not so punctual in meeting at the Place appointed, as the French Ambassadors were.

The President-Canon, and the Baron of *Serinchamp*, who were the Duke of *Lorrain's* Plenipotentiaries, did not arrive till toward the beginning of *May 1677*. And his Interests, as being a Prince, whose Territories were unjustly usurp'd by the French, gave the Mediators a great deal of Trouble. For the King of *France's* Ambassadors refus'd to admit those two Ministers: pretending that they were not to hearken to their Proposals nor Demands. That the Bishop of *Strasbourg's* Agent was not formerly admitted to determine the Business touching Prince *William* of *Furstenbergh* his Brother; which the Imperialists oppos'd, alledging that the Duke of *Lorrain* was a Sovereign Prince, whereas the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was no more than one of the Emperor's Subjects, whose Differences and Suits could no where be determin'd but within the Empire, and before Judges that

had the proper Cognizance of them. And then another thing was, that the French Ambassadors would not acknowledge the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ministers to be Ambassadors.

The President-Canon discoursed a long time in Private Conferences, to prove that they had a Right to be acknowledg'd under that Character. But in regard it all signify'd nothing, upon the 16th of *May* he presented a Remonstrance to the Mediators, wherein he so substantially set forth the Interests of the Duke his Master, that the French Ambassadors were at a loss what Answer to make. He set forth, after he had laid open all the petty Litigious Niceties of the French, more especially in the business of Passports, that when they knew not how to avoid giving the Duke the Titles of Duke and Brother, yet they had bethought themselves of refusing the Character of Ambassadors to his Ministers: and that in the mean time, when they could not but agree that it was the Right of Sovereigns, which was never deny'd them; yet to elude the Matter; and spin out the Brabble, they persisted in a Nicety of their own framing, that it behov'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to prove that his Predecessors ever sent any Ministers to the Courts of Foreign Princes under that Character.

He confess'd that such a proof indeed would be a means to shorten the decision of the Controversie, but that the French had carried away all the Papers and Records belonging to the Dutchy, and partly sold them to the Grocers of *Mets* and *Nanci*, and partly given 'em among the Soldiers to kindle their Fires in the Corps  
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du Guard ; which although they could not produce for those Reasons ; yet there were other sufficient Proofs why that Right should not be deny'd them. In short the President alledg'd the Treaty made in a full Dyet of the Empire at *Noremburg*, *August* 26. 1642. between *Charles V.* and *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* on the one part, and *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain* on the other, who had there four Ministers under the Character of Ambassadors. He farther shew'd that the same Title was given to others that were present at the Contract of Marriage between Duke *Francis* the Son of *Anthony*, and *Margaret* of *Austria*, *Charles* the Fifth's Sister. And to omit nothing to prove that the Duke of *Lorrain* had a Right to send Ambassadors, he cited several Alliances of the Dukes of that Family, among which there were no less than four Marriages with the Emperor's Daughters, besides that of Duke *Francis*, the Son of *Antonie*.

All this manifestly prov'd the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Right to send Ambassadors to *Nimeghen*, as well as the French. But in regard the French would not submit to these Reasons, and for that the Duke who was unwilling to obstruct the Peace, thought it better to pass by the Nicety of the word Ambassador, as long as they were allow'd the Title of Plenipotentiaries, more especially since the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the States General gave them the Character of Ambassadors, the President insisted no farther upon that Dispute.

So that now the Chief things of which that Minister complain'd of in his Memorial, were the



the Delays of the French Ambassadors, who had not vouchsafed to give any Answer to the Propositions and Demands of the Duke of *Lorrain*, though it had been six Months since they were presented. He added, that the French Ambassadors refused to Answer, in regard the Duke had no Ministers at *Nimwegen*; and afterwards they deny'd to do the same thing, because they were come thither. He complain'd of the little Inclination which he found in *France* to restore the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, though she knew well enough, that without that Condition the Peace could never be concluded. And after he had set forth in a most Pathetical and insinuating manner, that the Duke of *Lorrain* demanded nothing but his Patrimony, and the Inheritance of his Ancestors, which Six and fifty Dukes from whom he had the Honour to be descended, had possess'd, he earnestly desir'd that they would press the French Ambassadors for an Answer, and in the mean time, prepare themselves to do the Duke his Master Justice. But notwithstanding all the Importunity of the Mediators, it was above Nine or Ten Months before the President could get a positive Answer. But at length the King himself, having drawn up the draught of a Peace which he sent to his Ambassadors, and which was deliver'd the 15th of *April* 1678. to the Ambassadors and Ministers of the Confederates by the English Mediators, the Duke of *Lorrain's* Plenipotentiaries after they had read what concern'd the rest of the Princes interested, found the King of *France's* Declaration, That to give the most  
undoubted

undoubted Testimony imaginable of his Desires of Peace; what Reasons soever he might have to keep the Possession, yet he was willing to restore it to the Duke of *Lorrain*, under one of the two Alternatives which he left to his Choice. The first was to resettle him, according to the Articles of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, without any Alteration at all. The second was to restore him generally to all his Territories except the City of *Nanci*, which should remain to him in Sovereignty; and the High Road according to the Treaty 1661. to pass through his Frontiers into *Alsacia*, as also such other Roads as should be necessary to pass from *France* to *Nanci*, and from *Nanci* to *Mets*, *Brisac*, and *Franche Comté*: upon condition nevertheless, that for the loss of *Nanci*, he would give him *Tbaoul*. The King demanded also in the same Draught, that *Lonwick* and the Provostship belonging to it, should be deliver'd up to him; but with this offer, to recompence the Duke with another Provostship of equal Value in the three Bishopricks. And as for *Marsal*, in regard that Town was now no more a Part of *Lorrain*, it was not to be mention'd in the Articles of Restitution.

The King, when he sent this Draught, had declar'd withal to his Ambassadors, that he would not be oblig'd to stand to the Conditions upon which he offer'd Peace, beyond the 10th of *May*, and therefore the Princes with whom he was at War were to determine what they would do by that time at the farthest. The Ambassadors of the Confederates cry'd out against this, and said it was impossible, that an  
Affair

Affair of that Importance as the Conclusion of a Peace could be determin'd in so short a time. But at length it was found that *Spain* and *Holland* after some little Negotiations of the French Ambassadors were inclin'd to accept a Peace upon the Conditions offer'd by *France*. Which made the Imperialists, and the Ministers of the Northern Princes exclaim against the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*; declaring openly, that the King of *France* would delude 'em; and that the Peace which he made with 'em, was only to bring 'em under a greater Subjection. The other Ministers were indifferent; but the President-Canon utterly rejected the Conditions propos'd by the King. And enlarging upon the Severity of the Alternatives, he set forth, That the first swallow'd up all his Country, by dismembring the Half of his Territories. And the other, by taking from him his Capital City, and the Sovereignty of the four Roads which the King demanded, deny'd him the Commerce of one part of his Territories with the other: Concluding with a Protestation, That if the Faith of Three Treaties made with the Confederates signified nothing toward his Master's Restoration, he would renounce his Country, and rather willingly Banish himself, than return to it upon such hard Conditions.

After the Death of King *Michael*, the Emperor, as already has been intimated, had a design to Marry the Queen of *Poland*, his Sister, to the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Princess also had declar'd in favour of him, when the Election of the new King was in dispute: and had positively said, that she look'd upon the Prince as her  
Husband.

Husband. And the Duke of *Lorrain*, though indifferent at the beginning, was become so inamour'd of her, that the only trouble which he felt for the loss of the Crown of *Poland*, was for her sake, believing the loss of that would also defeat him of her Person. However, notwithstanding all the Prince's Misfortunes, and his being despoil'd of his Territories, neither the Emperor nor the Queen of *Poland* alter'd their Sentiments, so that upon his departure from *Vienna* for *Flanders*, the Emperor did in a manner positively promise him, that it should be none of his fault, if they were not more nearly Ally'd : and on the other side he receiv'd from the Queen so many Marks of Affection and Esteem, that he could not but depend upon 'em.

However, though it were a Match almost made, yet four or five years were already spun out before the Emperor ever spoke of concluding it. His design was first to have seen the Prince re-settled in his Throne. Which, according to all outward appearance, could be no long time : the Negotiations for Peace still continuing at *Nimeguen*, and the most part of the Princes of the Empire being inclin'd to accept it. But the Negotiations going on but very slowly, and he having long delay'd to recompence the good Services done him by the Duke, at length toward the end of the Campaign he dispatch'd a Courier to him, with Orders to return to *Vienna*, and conclude the Marriage.

This News was so pleasing to the Duke, that he could not contain his Joy. So that after he had read the Emperor's Letter, with a smiling Countenance

Countenance he told the Messenger, that his sorrow was in some measure atton'd for the loss of *Friburgh*; and that the Honour which his Imperial Majesty had done him, was so certain a good Omen, that his bad Fortune began to forsake him, that he doubted not, but so soon as he took the Field, to make himself Master of it again, and cause Marshal *Craqui* to remember the Valour of the Dukes of *Lorraine*. But as the greatest Joys are those which are most frequently intermix'd with the sharpest Pangs of Trouble and Vexation, there befell him an Accident at *Philipsburgh*, that had like to have put an end, together with his Life, to all his Hopes and Designs. For as he was going over a Bridge that belong'd to that place, one of the Planks not being well fasten'd, unluckily gave way, so that he fell to the bottom of the Moat. But though the danger were very great, yet he came off with only a Bruise upon his Shin; that did not a little trouble him for some time.

People discours'd of this Fall variously in the World. For some look'd upon it as an Accident unforeseen: but some affirm'd, it was a Trap laid for him by the \* Governor of the Town, with a design to have sacrific'd him by an untimely end, to *France*. In short the Governor was Arrested, and carried to *Vienna*, but he could not be convicted by all the Inquisitions that were made. However it were, the Duke was no sooner in a Condition to undertake a Journey, but he departed, leaving Prince *Herman* of *Baden* to Command the Imperial Army; of which the greatest part was quarter'd about *Offenburgh*, and the rest dispers'd into other

\* See a Letter-Book, Entitled, The Emperor & the Empire betray'd, by whom, & how.



other Winter-Quarters. Now in regard his Fall had very much disorder'd him, he could not travel far in a day; so that with all the haste he could make, he could not arrive at *Baden*, between *Vienna* and *Newstadt*, till the 4th of *February*. There he rested for some days, to take the benefit of the Baths, and was also met by the Marquis de *Grana*, the Count of *Baugnot*, and several other Noblemen, to accompany him to *Newstadt*, where the Emperor then kept his Court. The last days Journey he was met half way by the Emperor's Grand Squire, accompanied by Count *Wallenstein* Captain of Horse, and the Counts *Mansfeldt* and *Schaffenberg*, who alighting out of their Coaches, paid him their Compliments, and so went altogether to *Newstadt*, where they arriv'd in good time. The Duke was receiv'd without the Castle Gate, at the foot of the Stairs, by the Master of the Household and the Chamberlains, and at the top by the Grand Chamberlain, who conducted him to the Emperor's Chamber; which is an extraordinary Honour. The Emperor presently caus'd him to be admitted to his Presence; order'd a Chair to be brought for him to sit down; and after a short Discourse together, the Emperor himself lead him to the Empress Regent's Anti-Chamber. Presently after that the Duke went to the Apartment of the Empress Dowager, where was the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, and the Arch-Duchess her Sister. After a short Discourse, the Empress Dowager, and the Arch-Duchess retir'd, leaving the Duke alone with the Queen of *Poland* till Supper-time.

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It is not to be express'd how great the Honour was which the Emperor shew'd him. His own Gentlemen, and all the Foreign Ministers that were at Court conducted him to the *Arsenal*, where there was an Apartment ready prepar'd for him, and where he was waited on at Supper by the Officers belonging to his Imperial Majesty.

But in regard he was somewhat tir'd with a long Journey, he was unwilling to Eat publicly ; besides that he kept himself upon a Couch till Seven of the Clock in the Evening, at what time he went to the Empress Dowagers Chamber, from whence he was to go to the Chapel in the Palace, where the Ceremony of the Marriage was to be perform'd.

As he made his Progression from the Empress Dowagers Chamber to the Chapel, a great number of the Officers of the Court went foremost. After whom followed the Emperor's Principal Ministers of State ; and next to them Twelve Knights of the Golden Fleece in black Habits with their Order. Then followed the Duke of *Lorrain* himself, preceded by the Prince of *Lixhim*, his Marshal, and the Baron of *Chaunivuech* Captain of the Guards of his Body. Soon after appear'd the Emperor, before whom went the Count de *Lamher*, Grand Marshal, the Counts of *Baden*, *Wiltferne*, and *Mansfeld*. The Two Grand Marshals of the Two Empresses, the Queen of *Poland*'s Grand Marshal, and one of the Eldest Chamberlains led the two Empresses, the Queen of *Poland*, and the Arch-Duchess, who were attended by several Ladies, Maids of Honour, and some Foreign

reign Princesses. In the Chapel was erected a Scaffold, thirty foot high, and about ten or twelve Paces Broad ; but because there was not Room for all the Ladies, some were forc'd to stand upon the Stairs.

Over-against the Altar was another Scaffold cover'd with a Crimson Velvet Carpet, Fring'd with Gold, upon which were plac'd two Elbow Chairs, where the Queen and Duke sat. By the side of this was another Scaffold, where the Emperor, the Empress, the Empress Dowager, and the Arch-Duchess seated themselves. The Ceremony was performed by the Bishop of *Newstadt*, assisted by two other Bishops ; and no sooner was it ended, but the Bishop addressing himself to the Duke and Queen to ask their Consents, the Queen let him know, that he must address himself to their Imperial Majesties ; who thereupon making a Sign, that they Consented to the Marriage, the new Married Couple received the Benediction. This done, *Te Deum* was sung ; and after that, the Emperor went to embrace the Duke, but the Duke bow'd himself down so low, that his Imperial Majesty could not give him that mark of his Affection. All the Ceremonies thus concluded, they returned in the same Order as they went to the Chapel ; the Trumpets Sounding, and several other Instruments Playing all the while. The following days were spent in Feasting and other Divertisements. But in regard the Duke was to Command the Emperor's Army in *Germany*, after he had pass'd over *Lent* with the Queen at *Innspruck*, he departed in the midst of all the Pleasures of his

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Marriage.

Marriage to join Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, not much unlike Marshal *Bouillon*, Marshal *Turenne's* Father, who was forc'd to put on his Arms upon his Nuptial Night to surprize *Stenai*. So that before the end of *April* 1678, the Duke arriv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Wermes*, where he had appointed his Head-Quarters.

The Duke was not yet well recover'd of his Bruise, besides that he was tir'd with a long Journey; nevertheless, such was his Impatience to take the Field, to the end he might be before hand with *Cregui*, and endeavour the retaking of *Friburgh*, that he caus'd his Army to march at the beginning of *May*. He had Four and Twenty Regiments of Horse, Five of Dragoons, and about Sixteen Thousand Foot, which made up Forty Thousand Men, without counting in the Three Regiments of *Treves* and *Luxemburgh*, which were to joyn him. The French Army at first was nothing near so numerous, but afterwards *Cregui* receiv'd so many Reinforcements, that the Armies were very equal, whatever the French Report. The Duke also on his march took along with him Count *Roningseck*, whom the Emperor had chosen to assist him with his Counsels. And first they agreed upon the erecting their Magazines, and securing their Provisions from *Strasburgh*. Which being done, they encamp'd between *Offenburgh* and the Fort of *Kell*, which secur'd *Serasburgh* Bridge on *Germany* side.

The great Design of the Duke of *Lorraine* was to hinder the French from getting into *Brisgau*. To which purpose he resolv'd to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*, and march into the  
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upper *Alsatia* with a good part of his Army, to draw off Marshal *Crequi*, while the rest of his Forces besieged *Friburgh*. To this purpose he past Three Hunderd Horse over a flying Bridge near *Ruperschau*, with orders to post themselves between *Blosheim*, and *Altenbeim*, to secure the Bridge which he had laid over that part of the River; and at the same time Prince *Herman* of *Baden* had orders to Summon in Two Thousand of the Country Peasants to repair the Highways, through which the Cannon was to be drawn to the Siege of *Friburgh*.

All things seem'd to favour the Dukes Enterprize. But Marshal *Crequi* desirous to preserve the Reputation he had acquir'd the last year, had begun about the Tenth of *May* to draw together a Body of about Twenty Thousand Men. And understanding that the Duke was busily employ'd in making a Bridge at *Altenbeime*, he encamp'd himself in a place, from whence he might either oppose the passage of the Imperialists into *Alsatia*, or fall into *Brisgau* through *Brisac*. However, considering that it was more necessary for him to fall into *Brisgau*, before the Imperialists were ready to make any considerable attempt, he pass'd the *Rhine* with his whole Army over *Brisac* Bridge, and another Bridge which he laid over the River, above a League below that place. Upon which the Duke follow'd him, and encamp'd within Six Leagues of him, with a purpose to fall upon him, or force him to repass the *Rhine*, perceiving well that all his Methods were disappointed, and that he could neither pass into *Alsatia*, nor secure *Friburgh*. On the other side *Crequi*, who



perceiv'd the Dukes design, encamp'd within half a League of *Rhinesfelde*; and at length, through the several Movements of both Armies, they came within sight of each other, being only separated by the River *Eltz*, which was every where Fordable. However, neither of them would begin first; in regard of the narrow Lanes that were between 'em, extreamly to the disadvantage of them that should be the first Assailant. Only the Imperialists sent out some Parties that took some few Prisoners, and frequently alarm'd the French Army. Thus the two Armies separated for a time, but soon after came in view of each other again, upon the Banks of the same River. And they lay so near one to the other, that there was not a day that past without Skirmishes, wherein sometimes the French, sometimes the Imperialists got the better. And this was all that the Movements of those two Armies produc'd. For it was in vain for the Duke to torment himself to bring *Crequi* to a Battel: His design being only to tire out the Imperialists, as he had done the year before, to prevent their designs upon *Friburg*, and still to seize upon some advantageous Post from whence he could not be forc'd; his business being only to stand upon his Guard.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was vex'd to the Soul to see all his Measures thus broken, and that he could not force the Enemy to Fight, finding there was no way to bring about his designs but by beating the Enemy out of the Field. So that not knowing what course to take, he pass'd the River *Eltz*, and posted himself between *Brisack* and the French Army, believing that

to be the way to force Marshal *Crequi* to decamp, and reduce him to a necessity of giving Battel.

'Tis true, *Crequi* decamp'd the same day, but he so strongly fortified himself upon a Hill within half a League of *Friburgh*, that it was a difficult thing for the Imperialists to attack him with any advantage. However, the Duke lying between them and *Brisack*, he thought want of Victuals would force the French Camp to alter their Ground; for that they could have no Provisions but from *Friburgh*, and that it was not likely he would starve a place which was at the same time threatned with a Siege. On the other side the Duke flattering himself, that while his Army was able to subsist in their Post, he might be able to approach *Friburgh*, he began to be full of new hopes. But the want of Provision being no less in the Imperial Army than in the French Camp, he was himself constrain'd to dislodge, and see the disappointment of all his Expectations.

It would be too tedious for me to set down the several Movements of both Armies; the care that *Crequi* took to prevent the Decision of the fate of *Friburgh* by a Battel; the great endeavours of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the good and bad Successes that beset him this Campagne. Two or three times he defeated considerable Parties of the Enemy; he took several Prisoners, some Colours, and in several Encounters put to flight great Detachements of the French Army, as in that which happen'd near the River *Kintz*, where the Marquis of *Rannes*, Colonel General of Dragoons was Slain while he was endeavour-

ring to Rally his routed Men. On the other side the Enemy took several Prisoners, some Colours, and two pieces of Artillery, and defeated Count *Starenburgh* in the Plain of *Rhinefeildt*, and having forc'd him to Retreat with the rest of his Party, that had made a most noble Defence, pursu'd the Imperialists with so much vigour to the Bridge of *Rhinfeildt*, so that if the Governor had not pull'd up the Draw-Bridge, and Sacrific'd some of the Emperors Men, *Crequi* might have enter'd the Town, and made himself Master of it, as he did of the Castle of *Oitanburgh*, the Fort of *Kell*, the *Star Fort*, and the Island and Castle of *Lichstenbergh*.

By which Successes of the French Army this Campagne, it is apparent, that the Duke of *Lorraine* was much deceiv'd in the great Expectations, with which he flattered himself at the beginning of the year. However it was neither want of Courage, or through any rash and ill consulted Act of his own, that he fail'd in his designs. But there were two things that very much contributed to his ill Success. The first was, That he never receiv'd so much Money as was necessary for the subsistance of his Men, as he highly complain'd; and for that the Emperors Ministers, either through Treachery, or want of Foresight, not having provided sufficient Magazines, he was constrain'd to quit those Posts, wherein if he could have subsisted but three or four days, he might have laid Siege to *Friburg*, as he sent Word to the Emperor by Count *Mansfeldt*. The Second thing, was, the little Vigour and Heart which he found in the  
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most part of the Officers ; which made him lose the only opportunity that he had of giving Battel, which happen'd some time after the Encounter, wherein the Marquis of *Rennes* was Slain.

For *Brisgau*, where the two Armies lay, was so watted, that there was no Provision left either for Horse or Man. Therefore Marshal *Crequi*, whose Army was in great want of both, resolv'd to pass the River *Kims*, beyond which there lay a fertile Plain, where he might subsist for some time. So soon as the Duke had notice of his design, he encamp'd himself upon the River side to hinder his passage, but not being able to prevent him, he remov'd to an advantageous Post, where he could not believe the Enemy durst have Attack'd him, or that he had any such design. Nevertheless the French General, who thought himself the more numerous, and was desirous to make the best of some disorder then in the Imperial Army, resolv'd to hazard a Battel. And having rested his Men for some time after their passing the River, he march'd directly toward the Imperialists.

The Duke, who perceiv'd the Marshals design, and desir'd nothing more than to Fight, presently call'd a Council of War ; where were present the Principal Officers of the Army ; to whom he urg'd all the Reasons he could, why they ought not to refuse giving Battel. But there was not one of his Opinion ; every one affirming, that it would be a great piece of Imprudence to do it, and that he must wait another opportunity, which he would certainly find more favourable upon the first remove of

the French Army. Adding withall, that if he would venture a Battel, it would be better to do it on the other side the *Rhine*, than in their own Country, which would become a Prey to the Enemy, should they loose the Victory; more especially since *Crequi* could not avoid repassing the River for want of Provision. So that he was forced to retreat under the Cannon of *Offenburgh*; which fell out ill for him. For it being long before they came to this Result, he had no sooner given Orders to Retreat, but Marshal *Crequi* was at hand, and fell upon the Imperial Guards. Nevertheless how great soever the disorder were at first in the Imperial Army, by reason they were in a quandary whether to Fight or Fly; however, at length they made good their Retreat to *Offenburgh*, and there secured themselves with the loss of about Eight Hundred Men. The French also lost as many; but notwithstanding the equality of the losses, the Duke of *Lorrain* was strangely dejected to see such a failure of Resolution in his Officers; believing that if his Advice had been followed, they had cut the French Army to pieces. But in regard the French had burnt the Bridge of *Strasburgh*, and that there was a necessity of making a new one, it was impossible for him to undertake any thing more, though he had pass'd the River near *Philipsburgh*. All that he could do was to defeat some Parties, and to seize upon *Landau*, which in regard it was not tenable, he quitted, after the Souldiers had sufficiently Plunder'd it. But these were petty Exploits in Comparison of the Brushes which he receiv'd; and no way answerable



swerable to the great Hopes with which he had fill'd his Mind at the beginning of the Campaign: Inſomuch, that he acknowledged he had done nothing all the year; though it was none of his Fault that things happen'd ſo unluckily: Of which his Imperial Maieſty was fully convinc'd.

Nevertheless, in regard that at the ſame time, the Spaniards and Hollanders tir'd out with the Hardſhips and Expences of the War, had accepted and Sign'd the Peace upon the beſt Conditions they could get, and for that all the reſt of the Princes and States were juſt ready to do the ſame, the Emperor ſeeing that whatever Aſſiſtance he had receiv'd from the Allies, it was impoſſible for him to prevail on this ſide the *Rhine*, reſolv'd to follow the Example of *Spain*, and the States-General. Thereupon he ſent the Duke Word to repaſs the *Rhine*: upon which *Crequi*, not underſtanding his Deſign, yet fearing he had ſtill an Eye upon *Friburgh*, croſs'd the River after him: but finding him bend his March another way, he return'd back with his whole Army; and after he had Ga-riſon'd the Caſtle of *Lichtenbergh*, and demolish'd the *Star-Fort*, and that of the Iſland, both Armies took up their Winter-Quarters, in expectation of the General Peace, which by this time all the Princes had Sign'd, except the Duke of *Lorrain*, who diſdaining the Conditions, to which the King of *France* would have ſubjected him, rather choſe to live a Private Life then Sign a Treaty ſo Diſhonourable: and all Men were of Opinion that he took the beſt way.

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Now in regard the King of *France* would not acknowledge the Duke of *Lorraine's* Envoys for Ambassadors, he never would treat with them. In short, the French Ambassadors had only Power to treat with the five Principal Confederates, who were at War with that Crown. So that the Duke of *Lorraine*, after several Contests, being constrain'd to put himself, as it were, under the Wings of some one of the Five, referr'd all his Business to the Emperor's Ministers. Those Ambassadors therefore were to Stipulate for the Dukes Pretentions, and to procure a Ratification of such Articles as should be agreed on; because they were inserted into the Draught of the Peace between the King of *France* and their Master. But they were at a loss, when they found that the President-Canon had protested that the Duke of *Lorraine* would never Sign the Peace upon the Conditions impos'd upon him by *France*, without such a Moderation as might render them acceptable. And therefore they deciar'd, that since the Conditions were so hard, if the King of *France* would remit nothing of their Severity, they ought to be raz'd out of the Treaty, or a Declaration made, that they were not to be adjudg'd as compriz'd therein, in regard the Emperor could not Sign them as agreed by him. But this rais'd a new Difficulty; for that the Ambassadors of *France* made answer, That the King their Masters Ratification which they had in their Hands, was plain and clear, and so the Emperor's also ought to be. So that after several fruitless Cavils and Contentions, they condescended to declare, That his Imperial Majesty

Majesty was no farther oblig'd in reference to the Articles which concern'd the Duke of *Lorrain*, then the King of *France* had declar'd himself to be. After which they desir'd that the Peace between *France* and the Duke might be reserv'd till another time; protesting they were ready to Sign the Peace upon those Conditions; which was done accordingly *Febr. 5. 1679.*

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having no more to do in *Germany*, after the conclusion of the Peace, retir'd to *Vienna*, where the Queen of *Poland* his Wife was at that time, with a design to serve the Emperor in *Hungary*, if he should deem it necessary. For the Troubles of *Hungary* were never yet so well extinguish'd, but that there still remain'd some Coals of Discontent that wanted only blowing up. In the mean time, the Duke had been so generous, that when he protested, by his Ministers, against the Articles propounded to him by *France*, he caus'd them to declare at the same time, that his meaning was not thereby to be accompted an Enemy of *France*, much less of the Most Christian King. For he had yet some glimmering Hopes, that the Haughty Monarch, over-ruled by the perswasive Dictates either of Honour or Conscience, would at length surrender back his unjust Usurpations. But in regard the King of *France*, when he vouchsaf'd that Peace to *Europe*, had his Designs, which since have too notoriously appear'd, the Duke of *Lorrain's* Territories lay too conveniently for him, to restore them back under other Conditions, then those which he had made himself. His design, if he could have brought it about,  
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being to have made himself Master of all *Germany*, after that by the Peace of *Nimegben*, he had broken the League that was enter'd into against him : and therefore of necessity he was to keep *Lorrain* ; or if he did restore it to the Duke, it was to be done in such a manner, that he might drive him out again when he pleas'd, as he had done the Duke his Uncle. So that the Duke of *Lorrain* was deceiv'd, to expect as he did the Restoration of his Country, unless he would resolve to be as great a Slave in *France*, as *Charles IV.* after several Treaties which he had Sign'd.

I shall not spend time to shew that one of the Designs of *France* in the General Peace, was in conclusion to surprize the Empire. For the Publick Rejoycings at *Vienna* were hardly over, before the King of *France* seiz'd *Strasburgh*, which he dismember'd from the Empire, and incorporated into the Crown of *France*. And by what was soon after discover'd, Monsieur *de Nantuil's* Embassy to *Constantinople* in the year 1673, was only to make an Alliance between the Most Christian King and the Turk, to oblige the Grand Signior to invade *Hungary*.

However it were, the Emperor having irreconcilably embroil'd himself with the Protestants of that Kingdom, by depriving them of their Churches, and the Exercise of their Religion, had recourse to Prince *Abassi*, who sent them Assistance at the same time under the Command of Count *Teckeley*, who had withdrawn himself into *Transilvania*, where he had so wrought himself into the Favour of that Prince, that in a short time after he became his  
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Prime Minister. After the death of Count *Paul Wesselini*, General of the Male-Contents, *Teckelej* was advanced in his Room; and he became no less Formidable then *Wesselini* had been, while the Male-Contents got ground at a very great rate. But in regard that after the Peace with *France*, the Emperor bent his whole Force against them; fearing therefore to be overwhelm'd with numbers, they put themselves under the Protection of the Turks; not being able to find a safer Shelter from the Impending Storm, then to Shroud themselves under the Wings of the Infidels.

Thereupon the Turks, who have always had a greater desire to enlarge their Empire on *Hungary* side, then any other way, and who upon *Nantoil's* Embassy, had in their Eye the Troubles in *Hungary*, and look'd upon 'em as Accidents of which they might make great Advantages, made answer presently to the Male-Contents, That since they look'd upon them as their Protectors, they would never suffer 'em to be Oppress'd. In short, although they had then a Truce with the Emperor, and that Truce were yet in force for some years, they forbore not however privately to assist the *Hungarians*, promising them withall, that for the future they would not fail to do it openly, and that under their Dominion they should enjoy their Rights and Priviledges with so much Ease and Mildness, that they should have no cause to repent the Change of their Fortune.

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The Emperor, who had some suspicion at first that the Malecontents held Correspondence with the Turks, made several Proposals to the Port to renew the Truce, which was not yet expir'd by many Years; imagining by that means, that he should make a full Discovery of their Intentions. On the other side, the Turks made a shew of being willing to renew the Truce; so that there seem'd to be a perfect good Understanding between the Two Empires. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the Year 1672. the Emperor's Resident at *Constantinople* gave Advice, That the Grand Signior made such vast Preparations for War, as could no longer be conceal'd, and that it was to be presum'd that though those Preparations were pretended only for the Succour of the Malecontents, yet the Turks had a farther Aim. Thereupon the Emperor, desirous to be fully inform'd of what was transacted at the Port, sent thither the Count *de Caprara*, under the Character of his Ambassador, who in a short time after wrote word that the Conditions upon which the Grand Signior was willing to consent to a Pro'longation of the Truce, were so unjust, and so unreasonable, that there was no question but the Turks had propos'd them to hinder any Accommodation with the Malecontents, of whom they had declared themselves to be Protectors, and from thence to derive a pretence to make War upon *Hungary*. Nor was this all: For the Turks sent New Propositions, which the Emperor found less proper to be receiv'd than the former. And while they were Negotiating the Renewing of the Treaty, the Turks sent considerable

derable Forces to the Malecontents, who made themselves Masters of several Places, and *Teckele* was by the Grand Signior declared Prince of *Hungary*.

In short, the Emperor was assur'd at last, that the Preparations which were made at *Constantinople*, and other parts of the *Ottoman* Empire, exceeded all that had been made against Christendom for above these Hundred Years before; that the Grand Signior had declared War against *Hungary*; that he was to go himself to *Belgrade*; that to give Notice that his departure was resolv'd upon, he had given Order for the Horse-Tails to be set over the Gates of the *Seraglio*; and in a short time after he receiv'd certain Intelligence that the *Ottoman* Army was upon its March. So that it was concluded at the Emperor's Court, that the Turks had some extraordinary Design, if it were not to besiege *Vienna* it self.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, who was newly recover'd from a Fit of Sicknes, which had held him all the Winter, could not go the Year before into *Hungary*, where his Presence would have been highly necessary. But being now in a settled Condition of Health, he had Orders to prepare for the next Campagne, and to joyn the Imperial Forces at *Presburgh*, where there was to be a General Muster. The Emperor arriv'd there the Sixth of *May* 1683. where he had caus'd the whole Army to be drawn up in Order of Battel in the Plains of *Kits*, and after a General Review, conferr'd the Command of all his Forces upon the Duke: which drew upon him the Envy of many, in regard there were

were several other Princes who flatter'd themselves that the Emperor would have honour'd Them with that High Dignity, before the Duke.

The Turks were already advanc'd as far as *Belgrade*, when the Emperor declar'd the Duke of *Lorrain* General of his Army. Now therefore in regard the Turks were tir'd with a long March, and that it requir'd some time to rest themselves, the Duke having above Forty Thousand Men at his Heels, resolv'd to attempt the surprize of some considerable Place, before the Infidels were in Condition to oppose him; knowing well, that afterwards he should be forc'd to be upon the Defensive part only; and considering besides that if he prov'd Fortunate in gaining such Places as he had an Eye upon, they would be serviceable to secure *Vienna*, or at least to put a stop for some time to the Siege.

Now there was only *Gran* or *Newhausel* that the Duke could Attack. He therefore resolv'd upon the first Place, which he look'd upon as the more easie Enterprize. And so marching at the same time toward *Raab*, he prepar'd to sit down before *Gran*, of which he had before tak'n a view in Person. But then he was informed that the Turks had not only reinforced the Garison with fresh Succours, but that the Grand Vizir bent his March toward *Buda* with a considerable Army. So that fearing the success of that Enterprize, he gave it quite over. Nevertheless it being requisite that he should begin the Campaign with some Remarkable Action, he had no sooner alter'd his Resolution as to *Gran*, but he laid siege to *Newhausel*. The

The Bassa who commanded in that Town had sent away such numerous Detachements to strengthen *Gran*, that he began to question his Ability to resist the Imperial Army. Being therefore at a puzzle himself, he resolv'd to try whether he could put the Duke to a stand. Thereupon he sent him word, that if he undertook the Siege of *Newhausel*, he must be answerable for the Rupture of the Truce between the two Empires. But the Duke laugh'd at his Contrivance : So that the Bassa seeing his Stratagem would not take, presently hung out white and red Colours, to signify an offer either of Peace or War; yet wistful to shew, that he was rather inclin'd to Peace than War. But all these Devices prov'd ineffectual : for the Duke advancing with his Army, laid close Siege to the Town.

The beginning of the Enterprize was successful enough; for three or four days after the Imperial Army had passed the *Neckar*, the City was begirt; the great Guns were upon the Battery ready to Play; and the Duke had sent the Bassa a Summons. To which the Bassa return'd a haughty Answer, That he should understand what Persons they were to whom the Grand Signior entrusted his Garisons; and having taken some Prisoners in a Sally which he made to his loss, after he had immediately put them to Death, he hung up their Heads over the Walls of the Town. Nevertheless, that was so far from discouraging the Besiegers who had serv'd the Turks, which they took Prisoners after the same manner, that they had

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carried on their Works so far, that they were just ready to open their Trenches. But then it was that the Duke received Orders to raise the Siege, upon certain Intelligence which the Emperor sent him, that the Grand Visier was advancing with all the speed he could toward *Newbaufel* with an Army of above Two hundred thousand Men; so that the Duke was constrain'd to rise from before the Town.

Most certain it is, that the Duke was very much troubled to abandon a Victory of which he thought himself secure. But it was a Misfortune, for which there was no Remedy. For in short, the Grand Signior himself came to *Belgrade*; where the Grand Visier receiv'd from his Hands the Standard which the Turks believe was given to *Mahomet* by the Angel *Gabriel*. And then it was that the Ottoman Army, consisting of several sorts of Nations march'd with so much speed, that the Duke was in danger of being surpriz'd. All that he could do in the Extremity to which he was reduc'd, was to lodge as many of his Foot as it was possible in certain Houses about a quarter of a League from *Newbaufel*, to favour his Retreat: after which, he beat a March, and retreated towards *Comorra*; which he reinforced with a considerable Relief. Nevertheless, in regard the Turks advanc'd, he continu'd his March to the Island of *Sebott*, and having pass'd the *Raab* upon a Bridge which he caus'd to be laid over the River, he encamp'd in a very Advantageous Post. Which he had no sooner done, but the Enemy appear'd,



pear'd, and encamp'd between *Alba Regalis* and the City of *Raab*, there being only the River from whence the Town derives its Name between both Armies : which caus'd a very great Consternation at first among the Imperialists.

While the two Armies lay looking one upon another, the Tartars, who made up a Body of Thirty thousand Men under the Command of their Cham, having drawn out a very numerous Detachment, swam the River, and ravag'd all before 'em with Fire and Sword as far as the River *Leisbe*, which separates *Hungary* from *Austria*. Which Incurſion of those Barbarians, together with the Horrible Cruelties which they committed, sparing neither Age nor Sex, put the Duke into a deep study what course to take. For besides, that the Forces which he had remaining with him, after so many great Detachements which he had been forc'd to part with, to reinforce the Garisons of *Raab* and *Comorra* were reduced to no more than Four and twenty Thousand Men, he could not without imminent Danger expose himself to be environ'd by the Enemy, and Attack'd on every side : and therefore after he had call'd a Council of War, he dislodg'd from his Post, and retreated toward *Vienna*, though not without some difficulty.

The Army was upon its March toward the Island of *Sebutz*, when the Duke receiv'd Intelligence, that the Turks had also Decamp'd, and that Six thousand Hungarians of the Emperor's Forces, commanded by the Counts of *Dralko-*

*witzs* and *Budiani*, who guarded a considerable Pass, were gone over to the Male-Contents, and had left the Pass open to the Turks. This News strook an extraordinary terror into the Imperialists; but that which augmented their Consternation was this, that besides that the Parties which were sent out to discover the Enemy, return'd in great disorder, and sometimes without half their number, they heard that the Turks Burnt all before 'em, and exercis'd unheard of Hostilities. And the Consternation was so general, that the Duke had much ado to get his Detachements to venture out, to observe the Enemy. Nevertheless his Army still advanc'd, and march'd in very good order. But upon advice that the Enemy was within a League of a River which the Army was to cross, the Cavalry retreated to avoid the Fury of the Turks and forsook the Foot, notwithstanding all that the Officers could do to hinder 'em. The Duke did all that could be expected from a Person of his Courage and Experience to bring back the Cowardly Fugitives; but while he was using all imaginable Perswasions to make them sensible of their Honour and their Duty, the Enemy had already overtaken and fallen upon his Rear-guard, so that all he had now to do was to save his Foot. And first of all the Baggage belonging to the Duke of Saxon *Lawenbergh*, Prince *Louis* of *Baden*, Count *Caprara* and *Montecuculi* were Plundered, and the Waggoners and Guards cut to pieces; and the same Troops animated with their number, and the flight of the Imperial Cavalry, began

gan to fall upon the Imperial Infantry, and make a most horrible Slaughter. But the Duke, who gave himself over for lost, and was resolv'd to die like a Great General, or save his Infantry, after he had encourag'd the Officers to follow him, made his way through the thickest of his Enemies to their Relief; upon which the Infantry, that were just ready to give ground, and to which some of the Horse had by this time joyn'd, animated by the Example of their General, fought with that fury, that the Turks who never expected such an Alteration, and were for the most part busie in packing up the Booty which they got, were so amaz'd, that they betook themselves to flight; and the Duke having brought off his Men, let 'em go, not thinking it safe to pursue them; but pursuing his March, got safe at length to the Island of *Leopoldstadt* under the Canon of *Vienna*, where the rest of the Cavalry waited for him.

And now the first thing which the Turks did after the Duke's Retreat, was to lay Siege to *Raab*. But the Grand Visier, looking upon the winning of that Conquest not to be worth his while, left the Care of that Siege to the Bassa of *Buda*, and march'd directly for *Vienna*. But the Siege of that City was a thing of too great Consequence to be undertaken without considering well beforehand. The Grand Visier therefore call'd a Council of War to consult upon this Enterprize; where most were for deferring the Siege of *Vienna* till the next Campaign, and continuing the Siege of *Raab*, the winning of which would reduce *Comorra*, while

the Tartars wasted all *Silesia* and *Moravia*, that the Christians might have no subsistence in those Countries. This Counsel proceeded from a wonderful Prudence, and Foresight; and might have prov'd fatal to Christendom had the Grand Visier follow'd it. But he, being desirous to make himself famous by this Enterprize, and confiding in the number of his Men, was of a quite contrary opinion. His Officers did all they could to dissuade him from this Design, but nothing would prevail. The several Detachments which he had been forc'd to send abroad to observe the Enemy, the Forces which he had left before *Raab*, the Volant Camp which he had in *Upper Hungary*, and the Losses he had sustain'd in several Encounters had very much weaken'd the Ottoman Army. But neither the wary Counsel of his Officers, nor the Diminution of his Forces could move him from his first Resolutions.

And now no sooner was the Grand Visier set forward, but the Tartars advanc'd within two Leagues of *Vienna*, where they defeated some Regiments, and set fire to several Villages. And this News of the Turks March, together with the continual Ravages committed by the Tartars, caus'd the Emperor to quit *Vienna*. Which he did, together with all his Court, and retir'd to *Lintz*, from whence he departed for *Passau*, so soon as he heard that the Turks had formally Besieged *Vienna*.

The Duke of *Lorraine*, who lay encamp'd till then in the Island of *Leopoldstadt* with his Horse, and thought not to have stirr'd from thence, alter'd

alter'd his Mind, and resolv'd to pass his Men over four Bridges that were next *Moldavia*. This Resolution was no sooner taken, and he already upon his March, but a great Body of Turks and Tartars approach'd the Bridges, and began to follow him at the Heels. But the Duke would not be so surpriz'd. He immediately sent away General *Schultz*, with a considerable Detachment, which after an obstinate Fight, repuls'd the Enemy. After which he encamp'd beyond the Bridges of the *Danaw*. Now they that did not see to the bottom of the Duke's Designs, cry'd out, That the Prince ought not to have quitted the Island of *Leopoldstadt*, and that it behov'd him to have preserv'd the Bridges which he was forc'd to break down. In regard that by that means he had preserv'd a Communication from *Vienna* with the Emperor; and that it had been easie, had that Place been preserv'd, to have reliev'd the City with Succours of Men and Provisions at any time. But there was a Necessity that the Duke should betake himself to the Plain Country with his Horse.

And now the Emperor seeing the Turks so eagerly press on the Siege, and not finding himself in a Condition to relieve the City, in regard he had not a sufficient Strength, he dispatch'd away several Couriers to the King of *Poland*, to desire his Assistance, and to come himself at the Head of his Army. This Noble and Great Prince, the Terror of the *Ottomans*, importun'd by the Pope's Nuncio, but much more spurr'd on by his own vast Courage and Generosity,



Generosity, wrote back to the Emperor that he might depend upon him, and that though at present he were not in War with the Turk, he would march to his Aid, and endeavour to be at *Vienna* by the end of *September*.

Though this were but a short time, and that it was impossible for the King of *Poland* to make more haste than what he promis'd, it would be too tedious to relate the Progress which the Grand Visier had made, who had already open'd his Trenches in three several Places, and threaten'd the Count of *Starenberg*, Governor of the City, to put all to the Sword, young and old, unless he Surrender'd.

In the mean time, while the Besieged made most desperate Sallies, and hindred as much as in them lay, the Enemy from advancing his Works, the Duke of *Lorraine* lay not idle. He wrote Letters to Count *Starenberg*, which he receiv'd the 22d of *August*, wherein he assur'd the Governor, who signaliz'd himself to a wonder, during the Siege, that the Forces design'd for his Relief, were drawing together with all speed; that the Bavarians, Saxons, Franconians, Polanders and Imperialists, were come as far as *Krems*. That the King of *Poland* in Person, together with the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, made all the hast that was possible to be with him; that the Emperor himself, to be near *Vienna*, was remov'd to *Lintz*; and that he had nothing more to do but to make a stout Resistance till the Succors could come

come up to his Relief; which would certainly be toward the end of the Month; That he would expose himself to all manner of Dangers; and endeavour all that lay in his Power, rather than abandon *Vienna*; That he had defeated Count *Teckelej* near *Presburgh*, taken all his Baggage, and Burnt and Sunk all the Boats that were prepar'd for the laying Bridges over the *Waag*; that he had reduc'd *Presburgh* under the Emperor's Obedience; and that he had obtain'd another Victory over Count *Teckelej*, taken six Colours, and routed the best part of his Army.

It is impossible to relate the extraordinary Actions which the Duke perform'd, while he staid for the Succors that were advancing toward *Vienna*: his Vigilance to frustrate the Designs of the Male-Contents who endeavour'd to way-lay the *Polonians*; and the Advantages he won over the Turks and Tartars, whenever he came to any Engagement with them, as he frequently did. It may be said that he was in a kind of perpetual Motion; that he strook Dread and Terror into the the Enemy wherever he appear'd; and that it was he indeed, who deliver'd *Vienna*, by distracting the Enemies Forces in such a Manner, that he could never reinforce his Camp. For the Duke either kept the Principal Passes, or else constrain'd the Ottomans and Hungarians to defend their own Posts, and wasted their Numbers with continual Skirmishes.

But

But while thus the Duke kept the Turks and Hungarians in continual Employment, the Grand Visier us'd all his Endeavours to make himself Master of *Vienna*, and the Besieged on the other side defended themselves as Bravely. So that although the Turks had layn a long time before the City, they were so weaken'd by Diseases, that swept away great Numbers of their Men, so distress'd for want of Provisions, so annoy'd by the continual Rains, and had been so consum'd by the frequent Sallies which the Count of *Starenbergh* made, that they almost despair'd of Success. And the Principal Officers carried away with an Opinion of Predestination to which the Turks are extremely addicted, were become so sottish and insensible, that though they had Intelligence every hour, that the King of *Poland* was advancing, and had joyn'd the Duke of *Lorraine's* Army, yet they took little notice of it; and they had suffer'd themselves to have been surpriz'd, if the taking of two Messengers which the Emperor dispatch'd to Count *Starenbergh*, to let him know, that the *Polanders* were within three days March of *Vienna*, had not awaken'd the Grand Visier, who always flatter'd himself that he should take the Place before any Relief could come; but began to be out of heart upon the Approach of the King of *Poland*.

The *Bassa* of *Buda*, at a Council of War which the Grand Visier call'd, was of Opinion, that they were not to stay till the *Polanders* came to force their Camp; but that it was the best

best way to draw off the Janisaries out of the Trenches, to cut down the Woods adjoyning, and lay the Trees cross the Highways; to make a deep Entrenchment covered with Earth, wherein to lodge the Foot, and raise a great Battery; that there was no other way to stop the King of *Poland*; and that then the Besieged would immediately Capitulate; but that it was a vain thing to hazard the Storming of the City, when they had no expectation of any Reinforcement, to supply the loss of their Men. And indeed, what the Bassa said was spoken like a wary and judicious Captain, but the Grand Visier oppos'd his Advice.

In the mean time the King of *Poland* receiving Newsevery Moment of the bad Condition of the City, hasten'd his march with that extraordinary Diligence, that he arriv'd toward the beginning of *September* at *Helbrunn*, which is not above Four Leagues from *Vienna*. And the Duke of *Lorrain* had so ordered his Affairs that the Polanders, and his Army join'd without any opposition. All this while the Count de *Starenbergh* finding himself prest upon by the Besiegers, gave notice to the Duke by the continual throwing of Squibs, of the necessity he was in; and the Duke Answer'd by other Signals agreed upon, that Relief was at hand. In short, all the Forces design'd for the Succour of *Vienna*, being joyn'd, the King of *Poland* march'd at the Head of the Christian Army, with a Resolution to force the Infidels in their Camp; for all the Christians being joyn'd together, made up an Army of about a Hunderd Thousand Men.

On

On the other side, the Grand Visier, who expected no less than to be assail'd by the King of Poland, and the Duke of Lorrain, with a more than ordinary fury, and who prepar'd to make as desperate a Resistance, found he had no Resolution to spare, when he understood the strength of the Christians, and saw their Vanguard appear upon a Hill. He then began to repent that he had not follow'd the Bassa of Buda's Advice; but it was then too late. But the Bassa of Adrianople, observing his perplexed and dubious Countenance, advis'd him to raise the Siege, and to Retreat with his Men toward Newhausel; as Solyman the great had formerly done upon the same occasion. But the Grand Visier, whether out of Presumption, or Despair, would not listen to his Counsel. He told the Bassa, that the Besieged were reduc'd to the last Extreimity, and that it was impossible for them to hold out three days; and as for the Relief which appear'd, he said Haughtily, That they were not to be fear'd: That besides that, the Polish Army could not but be extreamly tir'd, the Polanders had more of the false Bravado, than true Courage: That for the Imperialists, he already understood 'em well enough, and that there was no Body among 'em but the General of the Christians, speaking of the Duke of Lorrain, who had any Wit or Courage: And in a Word, That he would rather choose to Die with his Sword in his Hand, than be bow string'd by a Mute, or live in Ignominy and Disgrace.

With



With this Resolution he put himself into a posture to meet the Christians; and having left about Twenty Thousand Men before the City; that made continual Attempts upon it, he set forward with his Army in Three Bodies, to make Head against the Christians, who came on also in Three Lines.

For the King of *Poland* had entrusted the Duke of *Lorrain* with the Conduct of the whole Army; who guided it so safely, leading his Men through places where they were still secur'd from the onsets of the Enemy, that might have easily stopt their Advance, but for the extraordinary Prudence of the General, that so soon as they were got down a Hill, at the foot of which the Grand Signiors Army was drawn up in Battel Array, they were presently in a posture to Fight. The Conflict for three Hours was sharp and Bloody; for all the Christian Officers, as well as common Soldiers, fought with no less Emulation than Courage: Only this applause was given to the Duke, That he exceeded all the rest.

Thus at length, the Ottomans were forc'd to give Ground, and had not Night come on too fast, which savour'd their Retreat, they had been utterly defeated: However, they return'd to their Camp so disorder'd and shatter'd, that not believing themselves safe there, so soon as it was dark they betook themselves to a total flight. And their Consternation was so great, and their flight so precipitate, that they left behind 'em all their Tents, the greatest part of  
their

their Baggage, all their Ammunition, all their Artillery, and the Standard of the Ottoman Empire, with the Horse Tails, which are the Marks of the Grand Visiers absolute Power in the Turkish Armies. For they relate a Story, how that the Turks having lost their Chief Standard in a Battel against the Christians; the Visier perceiving, that upon that loss, his Army began to fly, with his Scimitar presently cut of a Horses Tail, and holding it up fasten'd to a half Pike, cry'd out, *See here the Chief Standard*; upon which the Souldiers recover'd new Courage, and rally'd again to a second Charge: Since which time the Grand Visiers have always a Horse Tail fastned to the Banners which are carry'd before them, or else set up over the Doors of their Tents, as a Mark of their Authority. Be it as it will, the Turks left the Chief Standard behind them, the loss of which is lookt upon by the Superstitious Turks as an infallible Omen of the decay of their Empire: And the Grand Visier, who was left almost alone, was fain to make his escape without his Vest, while his Men fled all before to *Raab*, without looking back, till they had rid Five and Twenty long Leagues in a Night and Day; and joyn'd themselves with the rest of their Army that blockt up that place.

The next day the Duke of *Lorrain* sent to Congratulate the King of *Poland* for the Victory which the Christian Army had won from the Infidels; ordering withal the Messenger to tell him, That the Success of that memorable Battel

Battel was entirely due to him, and that it was not the first time that his Presence had been a Terror to those Barbarians. But the King of Poland, who had been a Witness, as well of the Dukes Performances, as of the Actions of the other Generals, return'd him for Answer, That it was a Victory wherein the whole Army had a share ; but nevertheless , that the Honour of it was due to his Conduct, and the Resolution of the Germans, who were the first within the Camp and Trenches of the Enemy. Nor was it any of the Dukes fault, that the Turks were not immediately pursu'd. But the King of Poland found his Army so tir'd, that he thought it but requisite to rest 'em for some few days. In a Word , the Polanders enter'd the Grand Vissiers Camp the same day the Turks quitted it, and began to Pillage ; and then the Imperialists following their Example, they continued Pillaging all the next day. And indeed there were few People in Vienna that did not go out to see what purchase they could meet with in a Camp where the Turks had left infinite Riches behind 'em. The King of Poland went in to view the Grand Vissiers Tents , which took up as much Ground as the City of *Warsovia* ; where you might also see Gardens, and large Canals, and whatever else could be desir'd in a great City. The King also lay there one Night ; and from thence it was, that he wrote a Letter to the Queen, wherein after he had given her an accompt of what he had met with most costly in those Magnificent Tents, he merrily added this Expression. *You shall not say*

to me as the Tartarian Women say to their Husbands  
when they return home from the Army with empty  
Hands; You are no Man, you return without  
Booty; For I shall return with so many costly Spoils,  
that you shall acknowledge I was in the Fight.

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L I F E  
O F  
Charles V.

DUKE of Lorraine & Bar,  
And *Generalissimo* of all the  
Imperial Forces.

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THE FOURTH BOOK.

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**H**AD the Opinion of the Duke of  
*Lorraine* been followed, the Turks  
were in such a Consternation, and  
in so ill a Condition to Defend  
themselves, that they had been all cut in Pieces.  
But during the two or three days, that the Chri-  
stian Army lay and did nothing, and that the  
King of *Poland* and the other Generals lay in  
R *Vienna*,



*Vienna*, or else were visiting the Grand-Visiers Tents, the Ottoman Forces who were fled in disorder, having had time to recover and rally themselves, put Relief into other Places that might have easily been surprized, and at length secured themselves from the farther Enterprizes of their Enemies.

All Men agree, that the Victorious Army knew not how to make the best of their Advantage; since they might have secured all *Hungary* to the Emperor, and pusht on their Conquests to a far larger extent. The Duke of *Lorraine* was vex'd to the very Soul to see himself constrained out of Complaisance, to submit to the Advice of a Prince who had left his Kingdom, expos'd his own and the Lives of his Subjects for the good of Christendom, and who in the last place had put to flight a numerous and formidable Army, who was almost within a hairs breadth of Victory, and entring Triumphant into *Vienna*. On the other side, the King of *Poland*, who perceived by the Event, that the Duke had Reason of his side, could not forbear letting the Emperor see how much he was troubled for the Miscarriage. For after he had told his Imperial Majesty at their first Enterview, what time the Emperor returned him Thanks for the Signal Victory he had won, that all the Honour of that Victory was due to God, and that he had done nothing upon that Occasion but what became a Christian Prince; He added, that he was much troubled that he could not prosecute his Victory by a vigorous pursuit of the Enemy; but that the continued March of his Men for three days and three nights together

gether over steep Mountains and deep Valleys, through unfrequented and craggy Ways, without Baggage, which he was forc'd to leave behind, had so wearied and worn out his Army for want of Victuals and Forrage, that he was constrain'd to give them a repose of two or three days to refresh themselves, and enable them for farther Service towards the entire ruin of the Infidels.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorrain's* Measures, who aspir'd to nothing less than the utter Destruction of the *Ottoman* Forces, were broken; and that which put them totally out of order, was this, That some of the Confederates, believing that they had done enough in contributing toward the Relief of *Vienna*, began to talk of returning home, and the Elector of *Saxony* drew off in good earnest with his Men; and some other Princes were just upon following his Example, which would never have so fallen out, if by a speedy March all the Christian Princes had been engag'd to pursue the Victory.

And indeed the Duke of *Lorrain*, rightly apprehending and fearing that his Designs would all miscarry, if the Confederate Princes should forsake him, labour'd so indefatigably to engage those Princes not to abandon the Emperor at such an Important Conjunction, that excepting the Elector of *Saxony*, all the rest of the Princes were determin'd to continue the Campaign. However Things fell out quite otherwise.

At first they talk'd of Dividing the Army into several Bodies, to be employed at the  
R 2 same

same time upon several Expeditions ; and there were several Meetings and Conferences to this purpose. But in regard there was nothing concluded upon , the Duke , whose thoughts were wholly bent to make his best Advantage of the remaining part of the Summer , made all the Proposals which he thought most favourable either for Reducing of *Hungary* , or laying Siege to some strong Town.

It was impossible to foresee where the Turks design'd to make a stand ; and therefore the Duke was of Opinion , That the Christians should go and find 'em out. And his Advice being approved by his Imperial Majesty and the King of *Poland* , the Polish and Imperial Armies set forward upon the 18th, and two days after encamped near *Presburgh*, there to stay for the Confederate Forces which had promis'd to joyn them. But they having altered their Resolutions, while their Captains for particular Reasons of their own , lay demurring whither they should stay in their Camp near *Vienna* , or return home ; the King of *Poland* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, having agreed among themselves for the Undertaking some considerable Enterprize, without the rest of the Confederates, in case of delay, or their retiring Home, resolv'd to continue their March, and Encamp'd the 2d of *October* at *Weswar* , which is not far distant from *Comorra*. There they had Intelligence, that Count *Teckelej*, with the Forces of the Male-Contents , was at *Levents*. That the Body of the Turkish Army lay near *Buda* ; that the Grand Visier had sent a considerable Detachment toward *Gran* ; and that he had  
put

put Four Thousand Men into *Newhausel*, to strengthen that Garison. But the Season was so far advanced, and the Country withal so bare, and consequently in so bad a Condition to afford Subsistence for the Army; the Garisons in both those Places so numerous, and in a word, the Enterprize so hazardous, by reason that the Confederates did not come up, that the Duke, after mature Deliberation, was of opinion, that to assure himself of *Gran* and *Newhausel*, it was the best way to Attack the Fort of *Barcam*, which stands at the Head of the Bridge belonging to the first of those two Places; to which the King of *Poland* readily consented.

While they were preparing to put this Design in Execution, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* joyn'd the Army with the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Infantry: which Reinforcement giving them fresh Life and Courage, they began to cross the *Waag*. The Cavalry encamp'd the same day upon the Banks of that same Arm of the *Danaw*, staying for those other Troops which had not yet pass'd the River. The Duke also waited for the Infantry, to the end the Army might march in a Body toward *Barcam*, and perform some remarkable Atchievement. And he reckon'd upon it, that the next day, which was the 8th, the whole Army would be ready to set forward, in regard Count *Starembergh*, who Commanded the Infantry, had Orders to joyn the Army that day. But the King of *Poland* anticipated the Time; for he sent word that he was already upon his March to Attack the Place, which they had agreed to Assail, and therefore declar'd

him to follow with all expedition. Which alteration of the K. of *Poland's* Resolution did not a little surprize the Duke : and tho' he prepar'd himself to March, nevertheless he sent before the Count *de Dunewald* to the King to let him know the Necessity of staying for the Infantry, and the Danger they should bring themselves into by seperating their Forces, when they were so near the Armies both of the Turks and Male, Contents and almost at the Gates of their strong Holds. But the Count found the King already on Horseback, who gave him this Answer, That being assured that the Detachment of the Turks toward *Barcam*, was not considerable, he saw no Inconvenience that could happen by continuing his March. So that the Duke perceiving the King's Resolution, was constrain'd to follow, leaving only a Regiment of *Croats* to attend the Foot.

But the King of *Poland* was sooner advanc'd within an Hours March of *Barcam*, but he was informed by some of the first Troops of his Vanguard, that some Squadrons of the Enemy appear'd. Upon which, he ordered a Detachment to repel them; which was vigorously done, while the Turkish Cavalry gave ground; but being seconded by a greater Number, the Polish Troops that fell on first were repulsed themselves; to whose relief the King at the same time sent some other Squadrons. And now the Fight being equal, he advanced himself with all his Horse : But then it was, that the Body of the Enemies Cavalry, to the Number of between Seven and Eight Thousand Men, which till then lay cover'd behind a great Hill,



Hill, appeared when the King least dreamt of their being so near. So that before the Polanders could put themselves into Order of Battel, they were Charged so briskly both in Front and Flank, that they were constrain'd to fly, and leave behind them their Baggage, and some Colours.

The Duke of *Lorrain* being informed that the Enemy was Engaged with the Polanders, hasten'd to their Aid. But he soon found upon his Arrival, that the Polish Horse were utterly Broken, and that the Turks pursued them close at the Heels. The first thing therefore that he did, was to range the foremost of the Imperial Troops; which he had no sooner done, but he advanced toward the Enemy, and his appearance put them into such a Consternation, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, and retir'd under the Guns of *Barcam*. The King of *Poland* was so far advanced, and in many places so openly exposed, on purpose to encourage his Men by his own Example, that for some time 'twas thought he had been taken by the Infidels; for he was one of the last that retreated, and that a long time too after the Duke of *Lorrain* had routed the Ottoman Troops. And indeed such was the Terror that still continued among the Polanders, notwithstanding their Fortunate Rescue, that the Presence of the King, who was thought to have been taken Prisoner, could not quite recover 'em out of the Amaze they were in. The Losses they had sustain'd, and the Hazards they had run, had so terrified their Senses, that the Principal Officers of the Army

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gan to perswade the King to alter his Design of Attacking *Barcam*, and to bethink himself of taking up his Winter Quarters. Upon which the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had some Intimation what Counsel the King had given him, presently hasten'd to his Quarters, where the Reasons he alleadged for the easie making themselves Masters of that Fort, were so prevalent and convincing, that a Resolution was taken to Attack the Fort, and to that purpose to March the next day.

But the same Night, his Majesty of *Poland* having received Intelligence, that the Turkish Detachement had been reinforced by some Bodies Commanded by the Easla's of *Aleppo*, and other Places, and fearing that those Troops were followed by the rest of the Ottoman Army, began to deliberate anew upon the Enterprize so lately resolv'd upon. Till the Duke having made it manifestly appear to him, that the Enemies whole Army could not possibly be arriv'd before *Barcam*, and that though it were, yet there was no reason for that to alter the Design, they determin'd at last to Attack it; and march'd toward the Enemy, at the Head of both Armies. Nor did the Turks, who were Drawn up in a Plain, stay till they were Attackt themselves, but briskly gave the first Charge upon the Left Wing of the *Polanders* with so much Bravery, that the whole Wing began to give ground. But the Duke of *Lorrain* having quitted his Lines, to fly to their Succor, rallied them with so much speed, and bring himself at the Head of some German Horse, fell upon the Enemy with that fury, that

that being well seconded by the Polanders, he put them to a total Rout, and Count *de Duncwald* having Orders to pursue them, they were chac'd to the Gates of *Barcam*, with a Loss far greater than that which the Grand Visier sustain'd at *Vienna*. For besides the dreadful Slaughter of the Turks in the Battel, one of the Bridges over which the Fugitives crouded to get into the Fort, falling down with the weight of the Throng, an infinite Number were Drowned in the *Danaw*.

This Opportunity was too favourable, not to make the best of it immediately. Therefore the Christian Army advanced, and the Duke caused a Battery to be raised, from whence the Christians play'd so furiously upon the Fort, that the Garison hung out a white Flag, desired to Capitulate, and Surrendred upon Composition. However that could not prevent the Polonians from cutting the Garison in pieces, which very much troubled the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had received the Capitulation.

'Tis thought that of Fourteen or Fifteen Thousand Turks that were advanced for the Relief of *Barcam*, there hardly Escaped Four Thousand, and that there were above a Thousand Prisoners taken, among whom were two Bassa's, and some Aga's of Janisaries\*.

After this, the Duke of *Lorrain*, perceiving the Success of the Emperor's Arms, resolv'd to Besiege *Gran*, before he put an end to the Campaign, to which the King of *Poland* also agreed. And all things being prepared for that Enterprize, they began to cross the *Danaw* over Bridges which were laid for that purpose.

When

\*The Fort of *Barcam* Surrendred to the Duke of *Lorrain* the 9th of October, 1683. within less than a Month after the Siege of *Vienna*.

When that Resolution was taken, all the Grand Visier's Army lay encamped about *Buda*; not any of the Enemies Forces appearing near *Gran*. But then the Turks apprehensive by the March of the Christians, that they were going to Besiege that Town, sent some Detachements to relieve it in case of Necessity; which, together with the Report that the Ottoman Army was above Fourscore Thousand strong, made the King of *Poland* resolve to quit his Design of the Siege; which was a very great Affliction to the Duke. For though he thought himself strong enough alone with the Emperor's Forces, and those of the Confederates under his Command, to reduce that Place in a short time, yet he was willing to Caress the King of *Poland's* Assistance. For in short, besides that it would have been a too Scornful opposing the Advice of a Prince, to whom the Emperor was so many ways obliged, the Turks and Male-Contents could not but have made a great Advantage of such a Separation of the two Armies.

In this Confusion of Thoughts, there was no Stone which the Duke left unturn'd to regain the K. of *Poland*, & those of his Council to the Approbation of his Design. Wherein at first he met with some Difficulties; but he manag'd his Business so Prudently, and alledged such convincing Reasons, that at length the King consented to concur with him in his Desires.

Now in regard it was a Matter of the highest Importance imaginable not to lose time, because the Season was already far advanc'd, and for that besides, there was a necessity

stry of taking the Advantage of the King of Poland's kind Inclinations, while he was in the Humour, the Duke of *Lorrain* caus'd his Forces to advance forthwith, and order'd them in the first place to possess themselves of three Posts, from whence they might batter the Castle. The Polish Army lodg'd it self on the other side, and both Armies rais'd their own Batteries; by which means, within two days after the Siege was laid, they press'd with so much Vigor, and so close upon the Enemies, that they were constrain'd to quit the City, and shut themselves up in the Castle; which Capitulated three days after, though the \* Garrison consisted of above Three Thousand Men, under the Command of two Bassas.

This Famous Expedition being thus at an end, and the Armies too much tired to think of any other considerable Action, the Duke of *Lorrain* repass'd the *Danaw*, and both Armies set forward to take up their Winter Quarters.

After the taking of *Barcam*, the Count d'*Hu-manai*, and some other Chieftains of the Male-Contents, had been sent to the King of *Poland* by Count *Teckelej*, to desire him to Mediate their Peace with his Imperial Majesty, upon certain Propositions that were at first rejected. But the King of *Poland*, who passionately long'd for an Accommodation with *Teckelej*, desired the Duke of *Lorrain* to call a Council to Consult upon the Interests of the \* Male-Contents, before the Separation of the Armies. Which the Duke excus'd at first, alleadging, That he had no Order from his Imperial Majesty to treat

\* Gran was Be-sieged the 22d of October 1683. and Sur-rendred upon Com-position the 27th of the same Month, five days after, and fifteen or sixteen days after the taking of *Barcam*.



treat with Rebels. But the King of *Poland's* Importunities were such, that a Council was call'd, wherein the Vice-Chancellor of *Poland*, after a long Discourse of the Great Advantages which Peace procures to a Prince, set forth the Pretentions of the Male-Contents, which he reduced to these Heads:

I. *The Preservation of the Privileges of the Kingdom, and especially of their Religion.*

II. *The Restitution of Confiscated Estates.*

III. *The Summoning of a Dyet.*

IV. *To grant them Winter Quarters, and a Truce during the Negotiation.*

V. *To Declare Count Teckelely to be a Prince.*

VI. *To grant him those Counties which formerly he was put in hopes should be resign'd to him.*

But the Duke of *Lorraine* returning answer, That it behoved the Male Contents to quit the Turks, and lay down their Arms before they could be heard; the Council proceeded no farther. And now it being necessary to think of the Preparations for the next years Campaign, the Duke left the Command of the Army to the Count *de Rabata*, and departed for *Lints*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, and arrived there the 3d of *December*.

As for the King of *Poland*, he had design'd to spend the Winter in the Quarters which he had made choice of; nevertheless he chang'd his Mind, and returned with his Army into his own Dominions; which was no small Trouble to the Emperor. But the Duke of *Lorraine* giving him great Hopes that he should be able

to

to reduce *Hungary* without the Assistance of his Majesty of *Poland*, and those other Confederates that were already gone home, he put his Confidence in the Duke, who in the midst of the Divertisements of the Court, and the Carresses of the Queen of *Poland* his beloved Spouse, neglected no time, but took care for all things that might contribute to his being early in the Field the next Campagne; and enable him to strike new Terrors into the Armies of the Turks and Male-Contents.

The raising the Siege of *Vienna*, the taking of *Barcam* and *Gran*, the reducing of several of the Free Towns of *Upper Hungary*, of which the King of *Poland* had made himself Master in his March, and several other Victories which the Christians had won, so strongly allur'd the Grand Seignior, that during the Winter, he made extraordinary Preparations, to endeavour the repairing of so many Losses which he had sustain'd. And in regard the ill Success of his Arms in *Hungary* was attributed unanimously to the ill Conduct of *Cara-Mustapha* (that was the Name of the Grand Visier) the first thing he did, was to Strangle that Minister, and to set up another in his room to Command the Armies. In short, the time being come to take the Field, *Cara Ibrahim*, who succeeded the former, having received the *Batoons* of Command, departed from *Adrianople*, June the 16th, 1684. and went to joyn the Ottoman Army.

Now if this same New Visier made use of all his Abilities to defend himself the best he could, the Duke of *Lorrain* was no less indefatigable  
to

to put himself into a Condition to assail him, and make new Conquests. He was already in *Hungary*, where all his Forces were met at the General Rendezvous, at the same time that the Grand-Visier arrived there. He had also besieged and taken \* *Vicegrade*.

\* This City was besieged the 15th of June 1684, & capitulated two days after.

\* Weizen or Vaccia was taken June 28. 1684,

and Pest some few days after; These 2 Towns are seated upon the Danaw; the latter so near Buda, that it is commanded by it, as being within the reach of the Cannon of that Town.

This City was formerly famous for being the Residence of the Kings of *Hungary*; and the reducing of it was of great importance; for that being a very strong Hold, built upon a Rock at the foot of the *Danaw*, whoever was Master of it, was also Master of the River, and hindred all Provisions going to the Turks. The New Visier therefore proud of the Eminent Dignity to which he was elevated, and unwilling to neglect any thing for the effectual supply of this Place, had no sooner joyn'd the Ottoman Forces, but he caused a Body of the Army to march towards *Buda*, for the security of that Place. On the other side, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had already repass'd the *Danaw*, and had intelligence that the Bassa of *Buda* was advanced at the Head of Fifteen thousand Turks, went himself to meet the Bassa, and force him to a Battle. And having met him near *Weizen*, he fought him, defeated him, took his Cannon with several Colours, a part of his Baggage, and a great number of Prisoners, and then made himself Master of the Place, which yielded at Discretion, after a vigorous Resistance of three or four hours. \* *Pest*, which he afterwards attack'd, ran the same fortune with *Weizen*, for the Duke began to throw in his Bombs so furiously at first, that the Place was constrained to open to him her Gates.

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But the Duke stay'd not there. Some few days after he routed the Ottoman Army near *Buda*, where it was rang'd in Battle Array, and then laid Siege to the City, which before the Invasion of the Turks, had been the Metropolitan of the Kingdom.

By these ill Successes there was such a Terror spread among the Ottoman Forces, that though their Army was as strong as that of the Duke of *Lorrain's*, they durst not make any Detachment to oppose the Siege. At the beginning of which the Imperialists possessed themselves of the Suburbs, and some other Advantageous Posts, from whence they drove the Enemy. And after some days that the Siege had been laid, they had so terribly batter'd the Town, that there was a considerable Breach made in the Wall. And these prosperous Beginnings begat great Hopes of a Fortunate Issue. But the Grand-Visier, being waken'd out of his Slumber, sent an Army of Twenty thousand Turks under the Command of a *Serasquier*, to Relieve the Place. Of this the Duke of *Lorrain* had Intelligence, and therefore fearing that if those Forces should advance too near, he should be forced to raise his Siege, he resolv'd to go and fight them. To which purpose, with a Detachment of Fifteen thousand Men, he fell upon the Enemy at such an Advantage, that no less than Four thousand were slain upon the Place, and a great part of the rest were either wounded or taken Prisoners, and those that escap'd the hands of the Christians betook themselves to flight with so much dread and precipitation, that they left behind 'em all their Baggage,

gage, all their Ammunition, all their Cannon, and the Grand-Visiers Standard, as at the raising the Siege of *Vienna*.

All this while, they that were left in the Siege play'd furiously with their Great Guns upon the City; and the Duke of *Lorrain* being returned to the Camp, after the defeat of the *Serasquier*, continued the Siege with great violence. On the other side, the Besieged for above two Months together, made such bold and vigorous Sallies every day, that the Imperial Army began to waste very much. However all their Losses were no such hindrance, but that they had gained a great deal of Ground, that they had advanced even to the Rampart of the Town, that they had sprung several Mines, which had wrought wonderful Effects, inso-much that the Breach which they had made was about thirty paces wide; and that the Duke was inclin'd to have ventur'd a general Assault; but falling sick at the same time, he was constrained to retire, and leave the Care of the Siege to the Count of *Rabata*, who was a Person of great Knowledge and Experience, and would by no means give his Advice to hazard any thing.

During the Duke of *Lorrain's* Indisposition of Body, the Duke of *Bavaria* arriv'd at the Camp with a considerable Reinforcement, and no sooner had he visited the Works, and observ'd the Situation of the Place, but he sent a Summons to the Governor to surrender the Town, with a Promise of good Conditions. And there was some hopes that the Governor, finding himself so closely press'd upon, and  
without



without any hopes of Relief, while the Christian Army had received fresh Succors, would not have refus'd so fair an Offer. But he only answer'd the Duke of *Bavaria* with continual Sallies, which much diminish'd the Christian Army, though the Besieged in like manner sustained great Losses.

Upon this the Duke of *Lorrain*, although he had not quite recovered his Health, return'd to the Camp, impatient to be Master of *Buda*. But the face of Affairs was alter'd during his Sickness, for the Serasquier was again approach'd the Place with new Forces, and while the Besieged made continual Sallies on the one side, the Ottoman Army attack'd the Christian Camp with numerous Detachements on the other, so that the Duke of *Lorrain's* Army was not a little distressed, as having to contend with Enemies before and behind at one time; besides, that by the favour of these Sallies which the Besieged made every day, they several times receiv'd considerable Succors. Nor could the Duke of *Lorrain*, do what he could, prevent the Enemy from putting in several times into the Town great quantities of Ammunition and Provisions. So that at length, after several Assaults, several Bloody Sallies, several Endeavours in vain, and the loss of above Ten thousand Christians that perish'd in this Siege, which lasted three months and a half, the Serasquier having receiv'd a Reinforcement of Ten thousand Tartars, and marching up directly to the Imperial Army, made such desperate Attacks, and they that were assail'd defended themselves with so much disadvantage, that the Duke of *Lorrain* found it high  
S time

time to think of retreating. The Relief put into the Place, the diminution of his Army, the bad condition of his Men for want of Forage and Victuals, the inconveniencies of the Season, and the little misunderstandings which were crept in among some of the Generals, the flight of some part of the *Hungarians*, and the extream hazard of a general Storm, at what time there would be a necessity of fighting at the same moment with the Garison, and against the Sersaquier, who was not far distant from the Dukes Entrenchments; all these Considerations made the Duke determine to raise the Siege, and to suffer his Courage to give way to his Prudence and good Conduct\*.

\* Buda was besieged the 14th of July 1684. & the Siege was raised the 1st of Novemb. of the same year.

Nevertheless it was not without a more than ordinary Violence upon himself, that he consented to this Retreat; However it was so Honourable, that it redounded greatly to his Fame. For notwithstanding that the Enemies Army was so numerous, they never durst so much as fall upon his Rear; so strangely was the Sersaquier terrified with the Advantages the Duke had gained over him during the Siege. Thus ended the Campagne, of which the successful Beginnings propos'd a quite contrary Conclusion. The Sersaquier marched off to take up his Winter-quarters, and the Duke his; after he had furnish'd *Weizen* and *Vicegrad* with strong Garisons, and ordered the demolishing of *Pest*, as being impossible to be preserved.

During the Winter, some little Excursions were made on both sides; some few Castles were taken and retaken, and the Imperial Army block'd up *Newbanfel*, in order to begin the next Campagne

Campagne with the Siege of that Place. However that did not prevent the Turks from putting in fresh Relief into it several times, nor from committing several Ravages upon the Country.

The raising the Siege of *Buda*, the continual Incursions of the Turks in a Season when Armies are usually at rest, and the great Preparations which were making at *Constantinople*, made the Emperer to judge that the Duke of *Lorrain's* Army could not be strong enough to undertake any new Enterprize; and therefore he thought it necessary to have recourse to the Electors, and other States and Princes of the Empire, to prevent the danger of receiving a Check in his Affairs. And indeed as it was their Interest to bring down as low as it was possible the Common Enemy of Christendom. They engaged therefore against the next Spring to send an Army into *Hungary* of above Sixty thousand Men, while the Pope on the other side, promis'd to open his Treasuries, and contribute as far as he could toward the payment of the Armies that were to march against the Infidels.

It would be impossible to relate the hardships which the Emperor's and the Duke of *Bavaria's* Soldiers suffered in their Winter-quarters. They wanted both Victuals and Forage, which the Armies had already devoured in a wasted Country. And that same little Nourishment which they could get, or the bad Sustenance which they were glad to make use of, begat so many Diseases and Distempers, that they were all in danger of perishing. However, as much lessen'd as the Imperial

Army was, they were in a condition to march, so soon as the Spring approached, and to enterprize something till the Auxiliary Forces came up.

The Emperor therefore resolved to begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Novigrade*, which is a little City, seated about a League from the *Danaw*, between *Gran* and *Weizen*, and has a Castle belonging to it, which is built upon an inaccessible Rock. His Imperial Majesty's Design being by that means to deprive the Turks of their Communication between *Buda* and *Newbausel*; and after that, to lay Siege again to the first.

Some days after this Resolution was taken, the Duke of *Lorrain* departed from *Vienna*, and arrived in the Army that lay encamped near *Gran*, consisting of about Five and twenty Thousand Men. This Prince, to whom the Emperor had given a full Commission to act according as Occasions presented, after he had well consider'd the Resolution taken to Besiege *Novigrade* first, and then *Buda*, found such great Difficulties in the Execution of this Design, that he almost despair'd of better Success than he had the Summer before. In short, besides that the Fortifications of *Buda* were in a much better condition than the Emperor imagined; besides, that the new Bassa, who Commanded in that Place, had utterly demolished the Houses that had been ruined during the Siege, so the end he might be in a better condition to defend himself, the Garrison consisted of above Ten thousand Men. There were also Ten thousand Turks that lay between *Buda* and  
Alba

*Alba Regalis*, and Twelve thousand more had passed the Bridge of *Esbeck* to joyn Ten thousand Tartars. So that the Duke of *Lorrain* found he had to deal with an Army of no less than Threescore thousand Men, besides great Detachements which they could draw out of the Garisons adjoyning. All these Considerations made him out of conceit with the Siege; nevertheless he sent away the Count of *Caprara* with a Detachement of Three thousand Horse, to take a View of *Novigrade*. At what time, although that Garison had received a reinforcement of Five hundred Janisaries, they quitted the City, and flung themselves into the Castle, upon the sight of that Detachement. However, because the Count had no Order for a Siege, he returned without attempting any thing. And upon the Report which *Caprara* made of the Condition of the Place, the Duke gave over the Design which he had to Attack it, and resolved to Besiege *Newhausel*: which was approved by the Emperor, to whom the Duke signified his Resolution by a Letter.

The Imperial Army therefore invested *Newhausel*, upon the 7th of July 1685. and the next day the Duke of *Bavaria's* Forces, with those of the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Lunenburg*, and other Princes of *Germany*, being arrived at the Camp, the Duke of *Lorrain*, attended by some Volunteers, and Principal Officers of the Army, went to View the Place, and laid his Design to Attack it, in the same manner as the Turks had attackt and taken it before, in the year 1663. Accordingly, the Design was put in Execution, and the Siege was prosecuted with so much



Vigor, that though the Besieged made continual Sallies from the very first day they were invested, and made as Brave a Defence as any Men in the World could have done, nevertheless they despair'd of being able to sustain the violent Efforts of the Christians.

In the mean time, while the Christians Besieged *Newhausel*, the Turks surprized the lower Town of *Vicegrade*, which they first Plundered, and then set on Fire, after they had put the greatest part of the Inhabitants to the Sword, and taken the rest Prisoners. Which done they went to Besiege *Gran*, in hopes to make themselves Masters of that Place, or else to raise the Siege of *Newhausel*.

To which the Duke of *Lorrain* was upon the point of giving a General Assault, when the News was brought him, that *Gran* was in extream Distress, that the Tartars carried on their Trenches amain; and that the *Serasquier*, whose Army was above Sixty thousand Strong, had already given two Assaults.

Upon this, the Duke, no less resolved to Succour *Gran*, than to fight the *Serasquier*, rose from the Camp before *Newhausel*, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and some other Generals, at the Head of Thirty thousand Men, leaving only Twenty thousand to make good the Siege, under the Command of the Count of *Caprara*. The same day the Army encamp'd at *Comorra*, and the next day having passed the *Danaw* over two Bridges, which were made in the Night, they began to march in Battle array, and so continued their March till they came in view of the Enemy, who advanced forward

to meet the Christian Army. For the Serasquier afraid of being beaten by the Duke, as he had been the Campagne before, no sooner understood that the Duke was advancing towards him with his Forces, but he raised the Siege of *Gran*, and drew up all his Forces together. So that the Duke found him ranged in Order of Battel, with an Army of above Sixty thousand Men in a very advantageous Post. For he had of each side, Mountains covered with Wood; before him a Marsh, that extended as far as the *Danaw*; upon the Banks of which, he had begun his Entrenchments, which he had carried on from the River to a rising Ground, where he had Planted his great Guns. The first days were only spent in Skirmishes; while the Turks extended their Camp to the same Distance from the Marsh, as that of the Christians lay, stretching out their Right Wing along the *Danaw*, and their Left upon the rising Grounds.

Now in regard that upon the News which the Duke of *Lorraine* had received that the Enemy had raised the Siege of *Gran*, and that the Relief which he had sent to the Town was got in, he was not obliged to pass the Marsh that lay between him and the Ottoman Army, he thought it rather his Business to force the Serasquier to pass it himself, and to draw him on to begin the Fight, without being obliged to tire his own Soldiers; but which way to do this, he could not devise. Thereupon a Council of War was called, and then it was resolved that the Duke should counterfeit a hasty Flight, to draw on the Serasquier to follow

him. Thereupon the Baggage was immediately sent away before, toward the close of the Evening, and the Imperialists about two hours after decamped. No sooner was the Army upon their March, but they heard a most hideous noise of Turkish Exaltation, which made them conjecture that the Sersaquier would be at their heels. In short, the Turkish General upon false Intelligence, that the Christian Army was not above Twenty thousand Men, had laboured might and main to fill up the March, and had passed it, with a Design to give the Duke Battel, and then to relieve *Newbausel*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had compassed his Design, prepared for Battel, and having caused his Army to face about, he marched it all Night in Order of Battel toward the Enemy: And by break of day there arose such a thick Fog, that it was impossible for the Sersaquier to observe the Number of the Christians, nor the Order of their Army; which did not contribute a little to the Victory which the Duke of *Lorrain* gained; for he knew how to make his Advantage of it. So soon as the Mist cleared up, both Armies drew near one to another, with a slow pace at first: But at length the Turks coming down from the rising Grounds, which they possess, flew upon the Right Wing of the Christian Army commanded by the Prince of *Baden*, with an incredible Fury; but that Wing stood immoveable: and immediately after the Left Wing commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was Charged with no less Resolution: Which also with a superior courage repelled the Infidels, who then despairing

despairing to break into the Body, assayed to force their Flank: but that same Attempt deceiving their Expectations, as being secured by the River *Danube*, they fell again upon Prince *Louis of Baden*. Thereupon the Duke of *Lorraine*, who perceived what the violent Attempts of the Turks aimed at, ordered the Wing which he commanded to march with a slow pace, with Instructions to receive the first firing of the Enemy, without so much as discharging a Gun. The same Directions were also given by the Duke of *Bavaria* to the Left Wing, which he commanded. So that after the Turks had discharged their first Vollics, the Imperialists fired so thick upon them, that they were forced to give ground. Upon which the Duke of *Lorraine*, to take the Advantage of their Disorder, commanded his own Men to bear hard upon the Enemy, yet not so furiously as to break their Ranks, and at the same time ordered the Hungarians to follow the pursuit; who being better acquainted with the Turkish manner of Fighting, rally themselves more easily. Upon that, the Turks who had betaken themselves to flight, so soon as they were out of reach of the Imperial Artillery, began to rally again, and turning Head against the Hungarians, put them into some disorder; and encouraged by this Advantage, they returned to make a second Charge, but were received with that Resolution by the Imperialists, keeping their Ground, that the greatest part of them that carried the Colours were slain at the Head of their Squadrons; which put them again into disorder, and obliged them to a second Flight.

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In this hurly-burly and Danger wherein the Turks beheld themselves, they threw themselves all on one side, and flew upon the Duke of *Lorrain's* Wing, with a Resolution to Flank it. But the Duke, perceiving their Design by their first Motions, rendered it altogether ineffectual, by redoubling the fire of the first Line, as he saw the Turks come on. At the same time also he gave Order to the Count de *Dunewald*, to march on that side, with the Squadrons and Battalions that were nearest the second Line. And all his Orders were so exactly and so successfully obeyed, that the Duke of *Bavaria* advancing at the same time with the Left Wing, there began a most terrible confusion among the Turks; who at last betook themselves to flight, with so much consternation, that they entangled themselves among the most difficult Passes of the Marsh. Immediately the Duke ordered the pursuit to be made by a Detachment of Hungarians and Croats, and some Squadrons of Dragoons and Horse; which so much increased the disorder of the Turks, that they lost above Two thousand Men before they could repass the Marsh. The greatest part of the Janisaries who were engaged upon a rising Ground, being forsaken by their Horse, were all cut to pieces. Nevertheless, the Turks endeavoured to rally. But the Duke of *Lorrain* having passed the Marsh with his Army, by the same Passes through which the the Turks had Escaped, as having made them passable themselves; this put the Enemy into such a terrible consternation, that they abandoned their Camp, and sought their Safety in the



the nimbleness of their Heels. And in this disorder, impossible to be described, it was, that the Janisaries made no scruple to cut the *Spaniards*'s Throats, for the sake of their Horses; so that it may well be said, that the *Serasquier* lost more Men, through the Fright and Confusion that was among them, then in the Fight; where not above Threë thousand were slain upon the Place, with the loss of only Three hundred on the Dukes side. In the Camp were found Four and twenty Pieces of Cannon, some Mortars, above a thousand Bombs, a great Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions, and a good number of Colours.

While the Duke of *Lorrain* was thus employ'd at the Battle of *Gran*, the Count of *Caprara* had so far advanced the Siege of *New-hausel*, that seeing the Besieged made no shew of any inclination to Surrender, he resolv'd upon a general Storm. To this purpose, Three thousand Men were at first commanded to attack the two Bastions, where they had made considerable Breaches. This Party being encouraged by the Example of Count *Schaffenburg*, the Baron *d'Assi*, and Colonel *Kalets*, who commanded the two Attacks, and were the first at the Breach, in a moment cut to pieces all the Turks that made any defence, so that the rest being terrified as well by the Slaughter, as by the extraordinary firing of above seventy great Guns, and twenty Mortar-pieces, hung out white Colours, and beat a Parley. But then it was too late; no Capitulation would be accepted; so that after the Town was carried by \* Force, they put all to the Sword.

\* *New-hausel* was invested July 7. 1685, the 11th it was formally besieged, & the 19th of Aug. following it was taken by Assault.

As for the Serafquier, after his being defeated, he retired under *Buda*, where he caus'd some of his Officers to be Strangled, under pretence, that they had not done their Duty in the Fight. But the Bassa of that Place, having let fly several Cannon at his Men, and withall sending him Word, That the Grand-Signior sent him to fight the Christian Armies, and not to run away. That bitter Reproach touch'd him so nearly to the quick, that he presently rous'd himself up, and set forward with his shatter'd Troops to find out the Imperial Army; but that was only a flourish that came to nothing; for quite contrary to this Bravado, having sent some days after a Chiaus to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with the Ransom of an *Aga* that was taken in the Battel, he also wrote a Letter at the same time, wherein, after he had made some Propositions of Peace in the Grand-Signior's Name, he desired him to agree to a Cessation of Arms, till he could have an Answer from his Imperial Majesty. 'Tis true, the Serafquier's Aim, after he had obtain'd a Truce, was to have spur'd out the Negotiation in length, and so to have manag'd the Affair, that an Ambassador should have been sent to the *Port*; believing that in all that time, the Grand-Signior having the opportunity of raising new Forces, he might be in a Condition by that delay to recover a Strength sufficient to chace the Emperor out of *Hungary*.

But the Duke laugh'd at his Propositions; and being retired to *Weizen*, where he lay encamp'd with his Army to observe the Serafquier's Motions, returned to *Newhausen*. After this

this every body thought they would have been marching to their Winter-quarters ; but the Duke of *Lorrain*, before he would think of leaving his Army, took care for repairing the Fortifications of *Newhausel*, and to block up the City of *Agria*.

They who understand the Story of the *Serasquier*, well knew that he had Signalized himself in *Poland*, in several Campaignes ; and we saw that it was he who rais'd the Siege of *Buda* ; but notwithstanding all his Bravery and Stoutness, the Grand-Signior condemn'd him to Death. Not that it was believed at *Constantinople*, that the *Serasquier* was guilty, or that all Men were not convinced that he had done his Duty, but it was enough to be thought unworthy to Live, that he had been unfortunate in two Campaignes. For the Turks are so superstitious, as to believe, that the Misfortunes of particular Men, may be communicative to all the Empire ; and therefore they think it a piece of Justice to Sacrifice them to the Publick Good.

However, upon the Debate of Electing a new *Serasquier*, the Grand-Signior was at a great loss, not knowing upon whom to fix his Eyes, that was capable to oppose the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose Name alone was enough to terrifie the most undaunted of the Ottomans. But the Grand-Visier having nominated *Solyman* Bassa, who commanded at that time in *Poland*, the Grand-Signior pitch'd upon him, and immediately order'd him to be sent for. *Solyman* was no sooner arrived at Court, but the Sultan told him, that he had made choice of

of him to command his Armies in *Hungary*, and that he could think of none so Worthy as himself for that Employment. And this would have been look'd upon as an extraordinary Advancement in a Nation less Barbarous then that of the Turks. But considering the Condition of their Affairs, it was no more then the Sentence of his Death at the end of the Campagne. But notwithstanding the Bassa's inward Sorrow for his new Preferment, he disssembled his Vexation, to be Reveng'd of the Grand-Visier, who had Sacrificed him to the Necessities of the Time. In short, having prostrated himself at the Feet of the Sultan, some days after, he besought his Highness to dispence with his Non-Acceptance of the Employment which he had conferr'd upon him. He told him, that the Ottoman Forces were all in a very great Terror; that the General of the Christians fought with so much extraordinary Fortune, that he needed no more then appear, to vanquish and put an Army to flight; that his Victories had render'd him undaunted; and that foreseeing that his good Fortune would not so soon forsake him, and that the Campagne could not be ended without the loss of his Head, he therefore besought his Highness rather to put him to death, than send him into *Hungary*, where the Affairs of War were in so bad a condition, as not to be recovered, but after greater Losses then had been already sustain'd. To this *Solyman*, at the same Instant, added, That the ill Successes of the last Campagne proceeded from the Grand-Visiers fault, who had fail'd in several Things, which the Bassa enumerated at the same time. Nevertheless

theless he offer'd to accept of the Trust which his Highness had Honour'd him withall, if his Highness would appear in Person at the Head of his Armies in *Hungary*, as his Predecessors had always done, and not leave them to the Disposal of the Grand-Visier. Which Discourse so feelingly strook the Sultan, and wrought so effectually in his Mind, that he discharged the Grand-Visier from his High Dignity, put *Solyman* in his Room, and resolv'd to take the Field in Person.

While these things were thus transacted at *Constantinople*, great preparations were making at *Vienna* against the Spring. And in regard it was mainly designed to follow the Blow, and take advantage of the Consternation with which the Christian Victories had stupified the Ottoman Forces, several Councils of War were held, wherein it was debated, whether they should besiege *Agria* then block'd up, and *Alba-Regalis*, at the same time; but nothing was determined. Till at length the Duke of *Lorrain*, who persuaded the Siege of *Buda*, being arriv'd the 20th of *May* with the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Newstadt*, where the Emperor then resided, it was fully concluded, that the Campaign should begin with the Siege of that Place. But in regard the success of the Conquest appeared very doubtful, there were many long Debates about the putting this Enterprize in Execution. The Duke had granted at first, that the Siege could not be made without a great deal of trouble, in regard the Fortifications of the Place had been repair'd, and that several Bulworks had been added to strengthen the Outworks all along



along the *Dennau* to the Mountain, and that the Moat was made much deeper and wider on the other side of the City. He farther added, that he knew well, that the Turks had Countermined those parts where he had prepared Mines, when he besieged the Town in the year 1684; That they had contriv'd false Sally Ports underneath; that they had unpar'd the Streets, until'd the Houses, and cover'd them with Earth, to prevent the Effects of the Bombs and Carcasses; that the Garison consisted of Ten thousand chosen Spahi's and Janisaries; and that the Bassa *Abdi*, who commanded in the Place, was a Person perfect in the Mystery of War, a Resolute Renegado, who had a long time been an Officer in the Christian Armies, and that he had under him six Aga's, who were all Men of great Experience. In a word, the Duke of *Lorrain* omitted nothing to set forth the Difficulties which he had to surmount in undertaking the Siege of *Buda*. But at length, having brought the Emperor, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the rest of the Generals that were present in Council, to be of his Opinion, that they had never seen so brave an Army as that which they had ready to take the Field, and that the Turks were never weaker, nor in a more daunted Condition; and shewed them where he would correct the Errors committed in the last Siege, and alleadged all the Reasons that he could, that it was not impossible to carry the Place, the Siege was at length resolved upon, and two Armies were ordered to march; the one, that was most numerous, to be commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the other by the Elector of *Bavaria*.

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So soon as this Resolution was taken, there was no time lost in making all Preparations that might contribute to the good Success of the Enterprize. The Plains of *Barcam* were appointed for the General Rendezvous upon the 30th of the same Month, and both Armies set forward accordingly. But in regard the Brandenburgers, and Regiments of *Suabia*, could not March far in a day, because they had taken the Road of *Silesia*, and the narrow Passes of *Jablunka*, it was impossible for them to meet at the time prefixed. And besides, a slight Fit of an Ague, having detained the Duke of *Lorraine* at *Edemburgh*, therefore the General Muster was deferred till the 8th of *June*. Never was Enterprize desired with so much Ardour; nor ever did men prepare themselves for an Expedition with more Joy or greater Courage. Volunteers came thronging in from all Parts, to be present at that famous Siege, their Number being reckoned to be above Six thousand. And all the Troops and Regiments in general, gave such Testimonies of their Eagerness to Signalize their Valour, that the Duke of *Lorraine* could not forbear saying aloud and openly, That he was assured of the Conquest.

The 18th of *June*, the Armies arriving before *Buda*, the Town was invested : and the same day they laboured in raising the Lines of Circumvallation. The next, the City was more closely surrounded on all sides where it was accessible. The 22d, after they had begun to open the Trenches, by the Overture of three large Places of Arms, much nearer the Town than before, they resolved upon three

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Attacques.

Attacques, the first commanded by the Duke of *Lorraine*, the second by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the third by the *Brandenburghers*; to which some Imperial Regiments, and some other Auxiliary Troops were to be joyned. I shall not stay to relate the Circumstances of the Siege. All the World knows with what Vigor it was carried on, from the first to the last day, and with what an undaunted Courage the Christians fought.

However the Bassa of *Buda* was nothing dismayed, notwithstanding the vigorous Attacks of the Christians, and the bad Entertainment which his Souldiers received every time they Sallied forth, which they frequently did. For as he was resolved to defend himself bravely, so he Published an Order of the Grand Seigniors, by which all were Condemned to Death that did but speak of Surrendring; and some of the Janisaries he also put to Death, for only speaking too favourably of the Strength of the Christian Army. He put forth all the Country People and unprofitable Mouths out of the Town, that they might consume the Provisions that were laid in for those who were to sustain the Siege. And as one that was resolved never to Capitulate to whatever Extremity soever he were reduced, he sent out of the City whatever he had of Value, with a Design to send it to *Belgrade*, tho' it fell into the Enemies hands by the way.

But the loss of that, how considerable soever it were, did nothing abate the Bassa's Courage: and though the Besiegers had advanced their Trenches, and planted their Batteries; though

though they had Bomb'd and Battered the Town after a most terrible manner, and that he had lost a great Number of his Soldiers in several Sallies, and Endeavours to repel the Christians, yet he fail'd not all along to make a most Incredible Resistance. In short, about a Month after the Place was Besieged, the Duke of *Lorrain* having resolved upon a General Assault, if a Mine which was ordered to be sprung had taken Effect; and thinking it convenient first to Summon the Besieged before he was forced to that Extremity; the Bassa returned this Letter.

Grand Visier of the Christians;

**Y**OU are very Presumptuous to come a second time to Besiege Buda, which has cost Christendom already so many Men, and so much Money: 'Tis very true, this Siege has surprized us, because neither You nor We did ever expect it. But by the Assistance of God, and our Prophet Mahomet, You have been 'twice shamefully repulsed, and You shall not need to Assault us so many times as You imagine. We shall hope the same Fate will befall You, as You have hitherto experienced. As for what remains, if Your Emperor have Cominanded You to Assault us, we have Orders from Ours to Defend our selves.

ABDI BASHA

Visier of Buda:

This Answer so Proud and Haughty, constrained the Duke of *Lorrain* to Play with all his Cannon from the three Attacks, and to Bomb the Place, with greater Fury, if it may be so said, than before. After which he caused the Mine to be sprung, which he had brought to Perfection before he Summoned the *Bassa*: but the Mine not producing that Effect which was expected, but rather the contrary, as having overthrown the foremost Posts of the Imperial Trenches, there was a Necessity of deferring the Assault till another time. Which was done accordingly three or four days after, upon the 27th of *July*, about six of the Clock in the Evening. At what time there was most desperate firing on both sides. If the Cannon, and Bombs, the Carcasses, the Granado's, and small shot of the Beliegers caused on the one side the most Prodigious Noises of Havock and Destruction, sufficient to astonish the most undaunted; on the other side, the continual Peals of Cannon and Stone Mortar-Pieces from the Besieged, accompanied with Showers of Arrows, Darts, Bombs and other Instruments of Death, which they rolled from the top of the Breaches, where they stood with their Bodies exposed, without any shelter, to all Varieties of Death, gave the Christians to understand that they had to do with Men fully determin'd to sell their Lives at a dear rate.

The Imperialists were they that advanced the farthest, and lodged themselves where the Besieged were entrench'd: but they had much ado to preserve the Posts which they had won, by reason of the Mines which the Enemy continually



tinually Sprung; so that you might see two or three Hundred Men blown up into the Air at a time. And the Resistance which the Besieged made was so great, that the Imperialists that came on to the Assault were repulsed no less than three times with considerable loss. Which the Duke of *Lorrain* perceiving from the place where he gave his Orders, advanced himself to the foot of the Breach, with fresh Succors to relieve the rest. And his Presence animated the Soldiers in such a manner, that seeing their General exposing his Person like the meanest of them, to the most apparent Dangers, and at hand to give a Testimony of their Actions, they forced the Infidels out of their Lodgments, and gain'd a Roundel, upon which depended in a manner the taking of the Town.

Nor had the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Troops of *Brandenburgh* less success in the Assaults which they made, then the Duke of *Lorrain* on his side. This Assault, which was the second that was given, lasted about three hours; at what time Night coming on, would not permit them to advance any farther. The Duke himself was also wounded the last time in the Leg with a Stone, and his Assistant Camp-Master-General was killed close by him. And now all things were ready prepared to carry the Place by Storm. But the Duke of *Lorrain*, deeming it convenient for the Service of the Emperor, to avoid that Extremity, sent a second time to Summon the Bassa to surrender. And then the Bassa, who began already to fear the worst, was grown somewhat more humble in his Language then formerly. Thereupon he wrote

two Letters, one directed to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the other to the Elector of *Bavaria*. Wherein, after he had represented the Importance of the Preservation of *Buda* to the *Ottomans*, as being both the Key of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, so that he could not resolve to surrender it into the Hands of the Christians, he proposed to the two Generals the choice of any other City in *Hungary*, which he would deliver into their Possession, provided they would at the same time raise the Siege, and make a general Peace. But that Proposal being rejected, they prepared for a third general Assault, which was accordingly given three days after; at what time the Imperialists advanced their Lodgments to the Foot of the third Wall, which environed the City, though not without the loss of a great many Men.

But while the Town was thus streighten'd, and the Besieged reduced to the last Extremity, the Ottoman Army came boldly on, with a purpose either to put Relief into the Town, or force the Christians in their Lines. And it was believed that *Mabomet IV.* would have appeared at the Head of that Army. But *Solyman* whom he had wholly engaged, by conferring upon him the Charge of Grand Visier, which was That he gap'd after, diverted him from the Expedition, by laying before him, that he could not march, without a numerous Train of useless Persons; and by consequence a great Number of his Forces that were to be otherwise employ'd, would be taken off from all other Service, but that of Guarding his Person. So that his Highness submitting

to those and some other Reasons which he alledg'd, retir'd to *Constantinople*; and the Grand Visier took upon him the Command of the Army, with a new Serasquier, whom he sent before with Twenty thousand Men; and follow'd him with Thirty thousand more, and Forty Pieces of Cannon, expecting some other Recruits to joyn him. So that the Ottoman Army, upon the Conjunction of the Tartars, which happen'd in a short time after, was about a Hundred thousand Men.

With this Army the Grand Visier presented himself several times in view of the Enemies Camp, sent several of his Detachements of the choicest of his Men, and by surprize put in some small Succors into the Town. But in regard it was not the Bassa's design to come to a Battel, he only fought in Parties for several Months; insomuch that his Army, as numerous as it was at the beginning, being much weakened and discouraged, and by degrees brought to so sad a Condition, as not to be able to make any attempt upon the Lines of the Christians, who on the other side were greatly encouraged by the continual Advantages which they daily won over the Detachements which the Grand Visier exposed to their Victorious Swords; the Duke of *Lorrain* resolv'd to try the Issue of a 4th Assault, for the Mastery of the Town. 'Tis true, the Advice of some of the Generals was to give the Grand Visier Battel, for fear least while they were busied in the Assault, the Turks should endeavour to force their Lines, and they be in danger of being themselves Besieged. But the Duke of *Lorrain* making it evident by several Reasons,

that there was nothing to be feared on that side ; That besides, there was a kind of Confidence in the Christians, which did in a manner assure them of Victory ; and that moreover, the hope of Pillage would make them Fight with more vigour against the Town than against the Enemy in the Field, where there was nothing to be got but Blows ; his Advice was immediately followed, and all things prepared ready for the Onset.

Immediately Thirty thousand Horse and Foot were drawn out of the Lines, and put in Order of Battel in a Plain opposite to the Front of the Ground which the Enemies possessed. The Duke of *Lorraine's* Design being to amuse the Enemy, by making as if he intended to Attack them, and by that means to put them out of hopes of making any Advantage of the Time spent in the Assault, or of endeavouring to force the Christians Lines ; and it fell out as was intended : For the Visier, whether he were secure of any Success in the Assault, or whether he were afraid to fight the Christian Forces, never budged out of his Camp.

The next day therefore the Besiegers gave the Onset, after the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and General *Schoping*, who commanded the Brandenburgers in their several Attacks, had given all such Orders as they thought Necessary. Never was any Assault pursued with more Vigor and undaunted Courage, and never did Garison better defend it self than that of *Buda* at that time. Several times the Imperialists were constrain'd to recoyle, but at length after many bloody Struggles

lings on both sides, the Besieged having lost their Courage through the Death of the Governor, who was slain upon the Breach, the Infidels were repulsed and forced out of their Entrenchments on that side next the Duke of Lorrain's Attack. At the same time also the Brandenburgers enter'd the City, and piercing forward into the Streets, put all to the Sword. One of the Bassa's who defended the Place next the Duke of *Bavaria's* Attack with an incredible Courage, was constrain'd to give Ground, and seeing all lost next the Attacks of *Lorrain* and *Brandenburgh*, retir'd into a Roundel, between the Castle and the City, where he yielded at Discretion, with all that were with him. Thus was *Buda* taken by Storm in every of the three Places where the Assault was made; only those that were in the Duke of *Lorrain's* Attack were the first that enter'd. This Conquest was the more Glorious in regard it was made in view of the whole Ottoman Army, who without daring to make any Attempt to relieve it, suffer'd the taking by Storm of so important a Place as that was, and of which the Infidels had been in Possession near a Hundred and fifty years. There was found in the Place between Three and Four hundred Pieces of Cannon, Sixty Mortar-Pieces, and an Incredible Number of Bullets, Granadoes, Carcasses, Bombs, and other Warlike Engines; besides about Two thousand Prisoners taken. For the Turks that were in *Buda* fought like Men in despair, so that the greatest part were destroy'd before the City was won. And for the Christian Generals, they signalized themselves in this Siege



Siege by so many Actions of Courage and Prudence, that the Enemies of the Duke of *Lorraine* have been constrain'd to acknowledge, that he perform'd at that time all that could be expected from a Great and Experienced Captain.

I tremble to relate the Actions of the Soldiers after the taking of the Town. During the first Agitations of their Fury, they committed unheard of Cruelties. And though the Generals us'd all their Endeavours to prevent them from defiling their Victory with Acts of bloody Inhumanity, yet they put all to the Sword, without distinction of Age or Sex: nothing at all moved with the Cries and Tears of an infinite Number of Miserable People, who begg'd their Lives upon their Knees. And in hopes of finding Gold or some small Jewels they rumaged the very Bowels of those who they suspected to have swallow'd them. And some there were so inhumanely Brutish, that meeting Women with Children of two or three Months old, they cut open their Bellies, and crammed the Innocent Babes into their Wombs. Such are the Calamities that attend the Sacking of Cities taken by Force: which therefore the Christian Generals would have avoided, had not the Obstinacy of the Governor been such, as to hold out to the last Extremity.

But to return to the Ottoman Army, which lay not above a League from the Christian Lines, in regard they did not imagine that the Town was carried in that manner as it was, they no sooner received the News that the Christians had Possession of the Place, but they display'd

display'd a thousand ridiculous Marks, of their Despair, and in the mid'st of those Fears wherein they were, lest the Christians should force their Camp, they retreated in the Night.

It is said that the Duke of *Lorrain's* Joy for the taking of *Buda*, wrought so extreamly in him, that he never thought of pursuing the Enemy, whose Forces he had entirely defeated in that Consternation wherein they then were; and that this was an Error which neither *Monsieur Turenne*, nor the Prince of *Conde* would have committed. But if we overlook the Lives of the greatest Captains, we shall find perhaps, that they did not always make the best of those Advantages which they might have drawn from their Victories. I have already shewn you one Example in the Person of the King of *Poland*, after the raising the Siege of *Vienna*: so far it is from truth, that *Hero's* are always infallible. Therefore as it is not my Business to make a Panegyrick upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, I must acknowledge, that he forgot himself at this time, and knew not how to set Limits to his Joy. But it is certain, that they who have upbraided him for this Slip, would have been no less discontented, had he not perform'd it; and would not have fail'd of crying out, had he been repulsed by the Turks, That two Victories were not to be won in one day; that it had been a rash Attempt; and that those other Great Men whom they favoured more than him, would have been contented to have won the Town, without hazarding an Overthrow, after so fortunate a Success.

Some

Some time before the taking of *Buda*, the President *Canon*, whom the Duke of *Lorraine* had sent to *Paris*, return'd to the Camp. This Minister had Orders to demand the Restitution of the Dutchies of *Lorraine* and *Barr*; or to manage some Accommodation, upon Conditions less severe than those which the King of *France*, exacted by the Peace of *Nimeguen*. But he return'd without effecting any thing.

Therefore to go on with the Series of the History, the Emperor was no sooner inform'd of the happy Success of the Christian Arms, but adjudging rightly of the Consternation that had seized the Grand Visier, and all the Ottoman Forces, he was desirous that the Duke of *Lorraine* should go and Attack the Bridge of

\* \* This Bridge which perhaps is the Biggest that is in the whole World, is in length 8565 German Paces, and 17 broad. It is built part over the Danaw, part over the River *Fennes*, and part over a vast Marsh: it was built by *Solyman* the Magnificent, in the year 1521. after which, a great part of it was Burnt by the Turks and Christians.

*Esseck*; and the Fort which lyes beyond the River. \* The Duke having received the Emperor's Command, laid before him the great difficulty of performing his Orders without the Ruin of his Army; for that he had a vast deal of Ground to cross, where there was neither Victuals nor Forage; but all these Remonstrances signified nothing. So that after the Army had refresh'd themselves for two or three

days, he Embark'd Ten thousand Foot, together with Twelve Pieces of Cannon, Twenty Mortars, and great Store of Ammunition and Provision, to fall down toward the Bridge of *Esseck*, where the Forces of *Croatia* had Orders also to meet him. And the next day the Duke  
of

of *Lorrain* and the Elector of *Bavaria*, follow'd by Land with Four & twenty Thousand Horse, 6000 Hungarians, Twelve thousand Foot, & Three thousand Heydukes. The Army suffered extremely in their March; and upon the Road they received Advice that the Turks had blown up the Fortifications of *Harwan*, not finding them in a Condition for Defence; that their Ammunition and Provisions were Transported to *Agria*, and that the Grand Visier was advantageously posted on this side the Bridge of *Esseck*, upon the little River *Saubits*, having a Marsh behind him, and that his design was to lye in that Post, and observe the Motions of the Imperialists. At length the Army being arrived near *Tolna*, from whence the Enemy lay not above three Leagues; the Duke of *Lorrain* order'd a Bridge to be laid over the River *Saubits*, that he might engage the Grand Visier to fight if it were possible. But not being able to subsist in that Post for want of Forage, he thought it not convenient to cross the River; understanding besides, that the Turks were retreated on this side the *Drave*, near to *Darda*, where they had a very Strong Castle built, on purpose to secure the Bridge of *Esseck*.

Therefore the Duke of *Lorrain*, taking another course, divided his Army into two Bodies, of which one was commanded by Prince *Louis* of *Baden*, with Orders to joyn the Croatian Troops, under the Command of Count *Scherffenberg*, and so to Attack *Five Churches*, which Town was taken, and afterwards *Darda* and *Capuswar*; the latter upon Articles; the two first Surrendered at Discretion.

During

During this Expedition of Prince *Lewis*, the Duke of *Lorraine* crossed the *Drave* at *Tolna*, over a Bridge of Boats, and returned to *Pest* with his Army. From whence he sent a Detachment of several Regiments, that marched slowly toward *Upper Hungary*, and the *Teyffe*, where Count *Caraffa*, and General *Heusler* were to take the Command of them, and attack *Szegedin*. Which place Surrendred after Count *Veterani* had twice beaten the Infidels that attempted to relieve it.

The taking of *Buda*; the Conquests of the Venetians in *Dalmatia*, and in the *Morea*, which had been no less considerable than those of the Imperialists in *Hungary*; and certain Jealousies that the King of *Poland* had a design to declare War against the Port, occasion'd such hot Alarums at *Constantinople*, that the People began to murmur against the Grand Signior. There were the *Imans*, which are the Preachers in the *Mosques*, who upbraided him, that instead of being at the Head of his Armies, after the Example of his Predecessors, he kept himself shut up in his *Seraglio*, and never stirr'd out but to go a Hunting; and generally all Men complain'd of his being unsensible of the common Good. But these Complaints were little regarded by the *Sultan*. Nevertheless, reflecting upon the Consequences, as such that might prove unlucky to him, he degraded the *Musti*, accusing him to have been the Cause of all the Misfortunes that had befallen the *Ottoman Empire*, out of his Complaisance, at the Request of the Grand Visier, *Cara Mustafa*, to Sign the Resolution taken to begin the War; before he had Remon-

strated



frated the ill Consequences of it, as it was his Duty to have done. He was afterward Banish'd, and his Dignity conferr'd upon another. After which, the *Sultan* made great Reformation in the *Seraglio*; he retrench'd himself the vast Expences of his Hunting, and the Retinue that belong'd to it: He assembled divers Extraordinary Councils, to find out a way how he might recruit the Army in *Hungary*, and by his great Preparations, prevent the Misfortunes that threatned the Empire. In a Word, he omitted nothing that might conduce to his own Defence, and to repel the Enemy. But all these Precautions could not hinder the People from continuing their Murmurs; which encreas'd to that Degree, that they cry'd out aloud in the midst of the Publick Streets, That the Enemy was always Victorious, and that the General of the Christians was Born to be the Scourge of the *Musselmens*, so long as the Government and the Places of highest Trust and Honour were in the Hands of such Effeminate Persons.

But if the Grand Signior were under such Disturbances at *Constantinople*, the Grand Visier was no less turmoild in his Thoughts at *Belgrade*, whither he had retir'd himself. Deeply apprehensive therefore of the loss of his Head, he got a Writing Sign'd by all the Officers of his Army, which he sent to the Port, in Justification of himself to the Sultan, that nothing had been done during the Campaign, but by their Advice, and according to the Resolutions that had been taken in the Councils of War. To this Testimonial he added, That the Affairs of  
*Hungary*

*Hungary* were in such a desperate Condition when the Ottoman Forces arrived there; besides, that they arriv'd too late, that it seem'd as if they had been only sent to be witnesses of the loss of *Buda*. Lastly he promised the Grand Signior, That if he would vouchsafe to continue the Trust of his Forces in his Hands, and give orders for their necessary Supplies, he would so order his Affairs, as to recover in one Campagne, perhaps, what all the other Visiers had lost, ever since the raising the Siege of *Vienna*. 'Tis true, he had caus'd a Report to be spread abroad, that he was going for *Constantinople*, and that he had already sent away his Equipage before, but that was the thing which was farthest from his Thoughts. On the other side he made it his whole Study to avoid a Journey, which he could not choose but look upon as that which would prove mortal to him. And indeed, he knew so well how to persuade the Sultan, that his Presence was absolutely necessary upon the Frontiers; that he obtain'd a Letter from his Highness, wherein after he had graciously given him to understand, that it was his real Opinion, that the unfortunate Success of the last Campagne did not proceed from any Suspicion of his Fidelity or Conduct, but that he attributed the loss of so many strong Holds to the Pleasure of God, on purpose to punish the Ottoman Empire; he order'd him to stay in *Hungary*, and go on with the Fortifications of *Belgrade* and *Esseck*, and diligently to attend the Motions of the Imperialists till he could send him fresh Recruits, that might enable him to undertake some considerable Enterprize the  
next

next Spring, before the Christians could be in the Field. The Visier, who by this had got what he aim'd at, left no Stone unturn'd to put himself into a Condition to repel the Christians, and to perform some considerable Undertaking before the Imperialists were ready for him. It lay so much upon him that the Face of Affairs should change that there was nothing which he omitted during the Winter to gain Fortune on his side at the beginning of the Spring. He us'd all the Endeavours imaginable to engage the Muscovites and the Prince of *Transylvania* to continue the Peace between them and his Highness. He sent an Aga to the King of *Poland*, who being got as far as the *Black Sea*, seem'd to threaten the Turks, that he intended to open a passage to *Constantinople*. He made several Propositions of Peace to the Court at *Vienna*, on purpose to lull the Emperor a sleep. But finding that all his Negotiations and Stratagems could not prevent the States of *Transylvania* from concluding a Peace with the Emperor, nor hinder the League which the Poles and Muscovites had made together against the Turks; and lastly, perceiving that there were no preparations at *Vienna* for the beginning of the Spring, he labour'd with so much diligence to have his Forces ready, that his Army had taken the Field before the Duke of *Lorraine's* could be in a Condition to march. But all his Industry avail'd him nothing; for still the Parties which he sent abroad were continually beaten. And we may safely say, that unless it were the Castle of *Mohans* which he surpriz'd, and some Villages which he plunder'd

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der'd and burnt, he got no other Advantage over the Imperialists.

As for the Christian Army it was not so numerous as it had been the preceding Years, in regard a great part of the Men were Destroy'd and Dead, and for that the Forces of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Swedeland*, were return'd home. But in regard that Army, as much less'n'd as it was, had the Superiority of being Victorious, the Duke of *Lorrain* was assur'd of their Fighting with Confidence; that the Grand Visier would be beaten notwithstanding all his Precautions, and tho his Men were so fresh and lusty. And therefore full of hopes he departed from *Vienna*, where he had been to confer with the Emperor, and arriv'd at *Buda* the Fourth of *June*. Where after he had given Orders for the finishing of certain new Works which were already begun, he marched toward the *Drave* with one part of his Army, and so to the Bridge of *Esseck*, whither the Count *de Scherffenberg* was to follow him with Nine Regiments. At the same instant that he arriv'd he possessed himself of the Fort near the Bridge, where he rais'd some new Works, and then burnt all the Bridges that were upon the *Moore*, and continuing his march up the *Drave*, he arriv'd at *Sicks* the First of *July*, after several Skirmishes, and the loss of some Men. The next day the Infantry got within half a League of a Fort, which the Imperialists possess'd upon the *Drave*; but it was impossible for them to advance any farther, in regard the Waters were out to that degree, that the Bridges were all Drown'd, and the Fort surrounded with such an Inundation, that the  
Garison.

Garison was forc'd to lie upon the Parapets. Which was no small trouble to the Duke, who thought to have pass'd his Army over in that place. In this perplexity therefore, to see the fair season waste, before he could do any considerable Action, he laid a design to Besiege *Sigeb*; but the continual Rains, and the Inundation of the Rivers, having render'd the Moras's which encompass that Place inaccessible, he was forc'd to alter his Resolution. Thereupon he determin'd again to pass the *Drave*, as having no other course to follow; and so resolv'd, notwithstanding the many difficulties which he met with, he cross'd the River within a few days after, being followed by the Duke of *Bavaria*. As for the River *Walpo*, not so difficult to be cross'd, both Armies past it the 16th of the same Month. Which done, there being a small Fort upon the same River, of the same Name, the Duke design'd to have reduc'd it, believing he should meet with little or no Resistance. But the Garison consisting of Four or Five Hundred Turks, fired so terribly upon the Imperialists, that he not deeming it worth his while to loose time in Besieging it, continu'd his march towards *Esseck*. And after two or three days march, pester'd with continual Skirmishes, after he had made his way through a thick Wood, by cutting down the Trees on both sides, the two Armies came to Face the Enemy. But the Christian Forces were far inferior to those of the Grand Visier, who was above Fourscore Thousand strong, whereas the Imperialists were not above Five and Fifty Thousand. Nevertheless, whether it were,



that the Duke was ignorant of the full strength of the Enemy, or that he rely'd upon the Bravery of his own, and the Duke of *Bevaria's* Men, he was no sooner entrench'd upon the Ground where both Armies lay encamp'd, but he advanc'd toward the first Line of the Turks Entrenchments, which was Twelve Hundred Paces in Front, fortifi'd with a double Ditch extremely wide, and a Pikes length in Depth, with two rows of rampir'd Pallisadoes, and a Battery of Fifty great Guns. This precipitate Action cost the Lives of above Eight Hundred Christians, among whom were some Officers of Note. For besides, that the Turks upon the approach of the Christians, sent forth a numerous Body, that cut in pieces the foremost of those that advanc'd, they discharg'd in less than Three Hours above Four Thousand Cannon Shot. However, after this loss, the Duke of *Lorraine* having drawn up his Men in Order of Battle, about half a League from the Turks Camp, did all that he could to provoke them to Fight, though all to no purpose. For he saw by their Countenances they had no mind to leave their Entrenchments to hazard a Battel; as deeming it more proper to play their Artillery, and ply him with continual Detachements. So that the Duke, perceiving that the Turks, who had had a long time to Post themselves the most advantagiously they could desire, and had levell'd all the rising Grounds, and cut down all the Woods that could shelter the Christian Army, by that means every way expos'd to the Enemies great and small Shot; thought it not convenient to Attack them in  
their

their Post ; where it was impossible to get any advantage over them, as he had found by Experience. So that after Four and twenty Hours facing the Enemy, within the reach of the Cannon of their Camp, and that of the Fortress of *Esseck*, it was resolv'd at a Council of War, not to expose the Army to any farther Inconvenience, but to wait a more favourable opportunity to Fight the Enemy, and immediately to decamp. However, the Duke of *Lorrain* made his Retreat in view of the Grand Visier, who durst not budge out of his Camp to disturb him. The same day the Imperial Army arriv'd at *Walpo*, and two days after crossing the River ; the day following encamp'd within a League of *Mobats* ; from whence he sent a Detachment of Five Regiments to reinforce the Blockade of *Agria*. The Duke of *Lorrain* was thought too adventurous to pass the *Drave*, and expose the Army without any necessity, to so many Hardships ; and that it was too dangerous a Hazard. But these were Reflexions after the thing was done, and grounded only upon the ill Success of the Enterprize. For the design of the Duke was to have drawn the Grand Visier to a Battle ; and if he had the ill luck not to succeed, and be oblig'd to a Retreat, all that can be concluded from thence is, That no Man is always Fortunate. However it were, we must acknowledge, that no Man could have Retreated with more Honour and Prudence than he did. And I would fain know, whether it be not an Action as much deserving Applause, to understand how to Retreat with Honour and Discretion, as to gain a great Victory.

However after he had made his Retreat, besides the Detachment which he sent to reinforce the Blockade of *Agria*, he sent another to secure *Siclos* and *Five-Churches*; and then resolv'd to have besieged *Sigesh*. But the same Reasons that frustrated his Design before he had pass'd the *Drave*, caus'd him to give it over the second time. After which, he had a purpose to have pass'd the *Danaw*, over the Bridge which had been built near *Mohats*. But that March was put off, upon fresh Intelligence, that the Grand-Visier had pass'd the Bridges near *Esseck* with his whole Army. So that now he resolv'd once more to march toward the Infidels, and try if he could provoke 'em to an Engagement.

After the Retreat of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Grand-Visier was once in a mind to have pursu'd the Imperialists; but then again believing that this Retreat was but feign'd to draw him out of his Entrenchments, he let them retreat without any disturbance. But then again as firmly believing, that the Retreat of the Christians was a real Flight, he quitted the Fastness where he lay, and encamp'd near *Darda*. Nevertheless, there being nothing which he dreaded more, then to come to Handy-Stroaks with the Christians, he took great care to entrench himself, and kept himself very quiet in his Camp. On the other side, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who saw that the Visier avoided fighting, and that there was no probability of drawing him out of his Trenches, unless he made use of some Stratagem, caus'd his Army sometimes to advance, sometimes to retreat, as if he had

had been afraid of the Enemy. He made several Detachements, some of which pass'd the *Danaw*, others march'd towards *Siclos* and *Sigetb*, with Orders however not to remove from the Camp above a Leagues distance. But all these Counterfeit shews proving fruitless, and the Duke, besides, seeing that his Men could not subsist in the Place where they were, he resolv'd to retreat in good earnest, and the Resolution was no sooner taken, but he began to decamp. The Visier not being able hitherto, to penetrate the meaning of so many Motions of the Christian Army, began to believe at last, that the Duke thought himself too weak to attack him, and that his flight was a sign that he had no desire to fight. So that being eager to make the best of the Advantage which he thought he had, he hasten'd out several Detachements to fall upon the Rear and Baggage of the Imperialists; and afterwards causing a greater number of Men to advance, the fight began insensibly.

Presently Ten thousand Spahi's, and five thousand Janisaries appear'd, who march'd directly against the Left Wing of the Imperialists, where the Duke of *Bavaria* commanded, with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. And these two great Bodies of Turkish Horse and Foot were preceded by another great Body of Cavalry, whose charge was vigorously receiv'd by General *Dunewald*. In a moment after that, the Janisaries posted themselves upon a rising Ground with some Pieces of Cannon charg'd with Cartridges, which very much endammag'd the Left Wing, at what time the Ten thousand Spahi's began to come on. But then the Duke

of *Bavaria*, who saw that now the Turks had a design to fight, extended the Front of his Wing proportionably as he saw that the Enemy extended theirs. And indeed the Turks fell on briskly and vigorously. But the Duke of *Bavaria* stood the Shock like a great Captain; and though he expos'd himself as much as any Common Soldier, and flew about from one place to another, he receiv'd only a slight Wound in the Hand with a Musket Bullet.

While the Left Wing was thus engag'd, the Duke of *Lorrain* drew up the Right Wing in the form of a Half Moon, the right Horn of which extended to the Enemies Flank, with whom they were already in close fight; and the left Horn extended toward a Body of Spahis and Janisaries that were thundring down upon 'em. The Combat was long and bloody; and it was observable, that the Turks fought in much better Order than they us'd to do, and with much more Courage; but for all that, they were forced to give ground. The Grand-Vizier, who never thought the Fight would have begun so soon, or that his Detachements would have charg'd the Christian Army with so much precipitancy, had not drawn up all his Men in Battel Array; or rather, not imagining that the Christians would have made that Resistance which they did, was in such a hurry, such a strange amaze, and gave his Orders so confusedly, that it was impossible for those that receiv'd 'em, to put 'em in execution; which caus'd such a disorder among the Turks, that the Duke and the Elector, knew well how to make their best advantage of it. So that while they were in that Confusion they overturn'd  
whole



whole Squadrons one upon another, and while Friends routed Friends, made a miserable slaughter among 'em. On the other side, the Grand-Vifler, who was afraid of what he saw, and could not prevent it with all his Precautions, flew from place to place where there was most danger, to rally his Men, which he did in some measure ; but in regard it was impossible he should be every where, the Turks gave ground in many places, and the Field was soon clear'd by the Christians : for those of the Turks who had made the stoutest resistance, and fought with most fury, lost their ground by degrees, and at length betook themselves all to flight. They were pursu'd to their Camp, where the greatest part were cut to pieces, and they that escap'd the Victor being chac'd from their Entrenchments, were driv'n like Sheep as far as the *Drave* ; where they had been all cut to pieces, had not the night been more favourable to them. This Battel was fought very near the same place where the famous Battel of *Mobats* was fought in the year 1526, at what time *Soliman* the Second slew about Twenty thousand Christians, among whom was *Lewis* the Second King of *Hungary*. All the Enemies Artillery, consisting of Fourscore Pieces of Cannon, and twelve Mortars, became a Prey to the Victor, with all their Provisions and Riches. The Turks so little expected this defeat, that their Wagons were found without Horses, their Elephants and Camels in their Stalls, and their Tents standing. The Duke of *Bevaria* who enter'd among the first into their Camp, pusht on forward to the Grand Signior's Tent, which was easily known by

by the Richness of it, and other Marks particular to the Generals of the Infidels ; where he found a little Chest, wherein were about Two Millions in Gold and Jewels. And in this Tent it was that *Te Deum* was sung two days afterwards for joy of the Victory : and so they decamp'd the next day for fear of infection from the stench of the dead Bodies. For 'tis verily believ'd the Turks lost near Twelve thousand Men in this Battel.

At the same time also that the Christians gain'd this considerable Victory in *Hungary*, the *Seraskier* of the *Morea* was defeated by *Count Coningsmark*, and the Rout of that General occasion'd such a Consternation among the Turks, that they quitted *Patras*, the Castles of the *Morea* and *Rumelia*, and the City and Castle of *Lepanto*.

The Grand-Visier, who two days before, had intelligence of the Victory and Conquest of the *Venerians*, was at his wits end, to see himself vanquish'd in his own turn. For he foresaw, that so many Losses one after another could not but prove fatal to him : and he had all the reason in the world to be assur'd of it ; for the whole Army murmur'd against him, and was ready to Mutiny. Nevertheless being retreated toward *Esseck* with about Forty thousand Men, and rousing up his Courage, that he might not altogether sink under his bad Fortune, he endeavour'd to pacifie his Men, and to hearten 'em up at the same time. He told 'em, that the Misfortune which had befall'n 'em ought not to deject their Courage ; that the chance of War was uncertain ; that the mis-  
chief

chief was not so great as was imagin'd; that there was no City or Town lost; and supposing that the defeat were greater then it was, the season was so far advanced, that the Christians would not be able to undertake any thing considerable. This Discourse and some Money which he caus'd to be distributed among the Soldiers, gave them a little new Life, and for the time dispell'd their Fears, so that they resolv'd to defend themselves; and the Grand-Visier found himself in a Condition able in some measure to make head against the Duke of *Lorrain*. However it was not the Resolution of the Turks that stopt the Duke in the Career of his Victories. For in regard that his Men were animated by Success, 'tis most certain they would have continu'd Victorious, could they but have had an opportunity to fight; but the season hinder'd them from farther falling upon the Enemy.

'Tis true the Duke of *Lorrain* did all he could to engage the Grand-Visier to a second Battel; but in regard he found it impossible, and for that the continual Rains and overflowings of the Rivers made the ways unpassable, he call'd a Council of War upon the Field of Battel, to consider what to do. The greatest part advis'd him to pass the *Drave*; but the Trouble he met with in passing it the first time having silenc'd that Advice, the Duke resolv'd to spend his time in repairing the Disorders, which it was impossible but such a Battel as that of *Mobats* had caus'd in his Army; till he could have a positive Accompt what was become of the Enemy. In the mean time he sent a particular Relation  
of

of the Battel to the Emperor, who return'd him his Congratulations and Thanks for so Glorious a Victory with his own Hands; and at the same time he also wrote his Acknowledgments to the Duke of *Bavaria*.

Great was the Rejoycing at *Vienna* for the Defeat of the Grand Visier. But the Emperor's Joy was somewhat abated, by a Letter from Count *Carassa*, then in *Upper Hungary*, wherein he gave his Majesty to understand, that the Prince of *Transilvania* had declared for the Port, notwithstanding the Treaty which I mentioned, by which the Prince *Abassi* and his Territories were obliged to contribute to the Subsistence of the Imperial Forces, and to furnish them with Ammunition and Money. This News was so much the more unwelcome to the Emperor, in regard he had resolved, since the Treaty, to send his Forces to take up their Winter Quarters in *Transilvania*. Thereupon the Duke of *Lorrain*, who soon received the same ill Tidings, finding that he must give over the Designs which he had on the other side the *Drave*, without any hesitation, march'd away into *Upper Hungary*, with a Resolution to reduce Prince *Abassi* to his Duty. To this purpose he strengthen'd the Places from whence he was to remove with good Reinforcements, and having left a flying Camp in those Parts, by the Advice of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the rest of the General Officers, he advanced toward the Frontiers of *Transilvania*.

Now in regard this was a tedious March, and the Ways bad, his Men suffer'd great Hardships; but the Advantages which they hoped  
to

to find in their Quarters, made them endure all their Toil and Inconveniencies with Patience. However the Duke of Lorrain, who omitted nothing to disappoint and distract the Counsels of the Enemy, made a shew of Marching toward *Temeswaert*. Upon which, the Grand Visier apprehending that the Duke had a Design to Besiege that Place, sent a numerous Detachment to secure it. Of which the Duke no sooner received Intelligence, but perceiving the false March which he had caused the Grand Visier to take, he sent away immediate Orders to Count *Erdedi*, Governor of *Croatia*, to joyn Count *Dunewald*, and march forthwith to that Part where the Grand Visier had least Strength. Upon which, the Infidels, who expected no such Visit, were not a little surprized, and abandon'd *Esseck*. Upon which, Count *Dunewald* made himself Master of *Walpo*, which had been so often attempted before, and took in several Castles, and other petty Places, which must of necessity have been reduced at the beginning of the next Campaigne.

But to return to the Duke of Lorrain's March; He was no sooner arrived upon the Frontiers of *Transilvania*, but he demanded Winter Quarters for his Soldiers; to which the States returned answer, That in regard their Country lay open and without defence, they could not hinder the Turks from entring into it, and committing all manner of Hostilities, if they should openly Declare against them. But since the Imperialists were at their Gates, and that they were no longer in fear of the Ottoman Forces, they offer'd the Duke to allow Quarters  
to



to some of his Regiments. Which tho' it were something, yet the Duke was not fully satisfied. He therefore sent them word, that he must be constrain'd to take by Force what they would not grant him in a Friendly way; and because that sort of Language produced no Effect, he advanced into the Country, and seized upon the Castle of *Samblock* in *Transilvania*, which lay in his Road; and after he had caus'd it to be fortified, to make himself Master of that Passage, he came before *Claussenberg*, which is a considerable City, where the States frequently meet; into which Place being resolv'd to put a Garrison, he propos'd his Resolution to the Governor. To which the Commander made answer, That in regard he must have an Express Order from Prince *Abassi* for such an Admission, he desir'd time to write to him. But the Answer not coming soon enough, and the Duke preparing for an Assault, the Governor open'd the Gates, & Prince *Abassi's* Garrison being gone out, after certain Conditions agreed to, Three thousand of the Imperialists enter'd with Drums beating, and Colours flying. Several other Cities also followed the Example of *Claussenberg*, and receiv'd Imperial Garrisons. All this while, Prince *Abassi*, who had one of his Sons, a Hostage, at *Constantinople*, having given the Turks to understand the Condition of his Affairs, and how he was distress'd, solicited for Aid. But while the Imperial Troops advanced and still gain'd Ground, Count *Dunewald* having taken *Possessa*, the capital City of *Sclavonia*, and the Turks having quitted some Castles, and several small Towns between the *Drave* and the *Save*, the  
States

States of *Transilvania* resolved to put themselves under the Protection of the Emperor, fearing lest the Duke of *Lorrain*, should seize upon their best Towns, and so a Re-assignation of Winter Quarters was made. The Principal Articles that were Sign'd by the Duke of *Lorrain*, Prince *Abaffi*, and the States of *Transilvania*, were,

- I. *That the Prince of Transilvania, his Children, all those of his Household, all his Nobility, and in in General, all the Transilvanians should have free Liberty to Depart out of Weissembourgh, which is the usual Residence of the Prince, and out of all the rest of the Towns; to return, or retire where they should think most Convenient.*
- II. *That the Prince and Michael Abaffi, his Eldest Son, who had been declared his Successor, should be invested with the same Authority, and should enjoy the same Power which had been Confirm'd to them by the Ottoman Port, and the States; and should continue in the Exercise of it, according to the Laws and Customs of the Country.*
- III. *That the People also should be maintain'd in their Privileges and Franchises.*
- IV. *That the four Religions receiv'd in Transilvania shall be upheld; the Lutheran, Calvinist, Roman Catholick, and Unitarians; that is, the Arrians or Socinians.*

Besides this General Treaty, there was one in particular touching Contributions and Quarters, by vertue of which, the Prince and States consented

consented to Quarter and Pay during the Winter one part of the Imperial Forces, which the Duke should leave under the Command of the Duke of Croy, and Count Seberffenberg. After which the Duke quitted *Transilvania* with the rest of his Forces, and march'd into *Upper Hungary*, where they took up their Winter Quarters according to his Orders.

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L I F E  
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Charles V.

DUKE of Lorraine and Bar,  
And *Generalissimo* of all the  
Imperial Forces.

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THE FIFTH BOOK.

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THE Grand Visier, after the Battel  
of *Mohats*, retreated, as I have al-  
ready said, toward *Esseck*, with the  
Remainder of his Forces. He en-  
camped at *Little Waradin*, and having call'd a  
Council of War, the result of the Consultation  
was to send Twelve thousand *Spahis*, with eve-  
ry one a Sack of Corn behind him, to endea-

your the Relief of *Agria* with Provision and Men, as being Block'd up by the Christians. But though the Ottoman Soldiers had generally testified such an Extraordinary Resolution to oppose the Christians, after the Harangue which the Grand Visier made them, and the Distribution of the Money which he gave them; yet the *Spahi's* were so afraid of meeting and being forced to fight with the Christians, so accustomed to Vanquish, that they refus'd to march. However, because they durst not let it be seen that it was out of fear of being beaten, that they refus'd to obey, they pretended that three Months Pay was detain'd from them, which was the only Reason that constrain'd them to disobey the Orders of their General; and at the same time they demanded their Pay after a most tumultuous and mutinous manner. This Revolt, which began only in bare Murmuring, encreased insensibly to that Degree, that the whole Army was in an Uproar. They cast their Eyes upon a Leader, who was constrain'd to appear at the Head of those Rebellious Mutineers; and there was one Bassa, who being in the Grand Visier's Tent, was so bold as to tell him, in the Presence of two other Bassa's, the Treasurer of the Army, and the Secretary of State, ' That the Musulmen desir'd to be  
 ' Paid their Money, and that they would no  
 ' longer endure, that above Fifteen thousand  
 ' Bags which had been taken out of the Imperial  
 ' Treasury, and sent into *Hungary*, since the Be-  
 ' ginning of the Campagne, should be expen-  
 ' ded to enrich him and his Creatures, while  
 ' They Sacrificed their Lives for the Defence of  
 ' the State.

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The Grand Visier, who at another time would soon have made the Bassa repent of such an Insolent Reproach, had so much power over himself as to dissemble his Resentment; and therefore said no more to him, but that it was only a Pretence which the Soldiers laid hold of; that he himself was a Man of deeper Judgment than not to see it, but however, that instead of three Months Pay, he would order them to be paid six. This Answer, so sinooth and soft for a General who has no less Authority in his Camp than the Grand Signior himself, had nothing of Prevalency to soften the rugged Bassa; who therefore reply'd in the same Language, 'That he was not worthy the Place which he held, 'since the ill Success of the Campagne concluded with so much Ignominy, or rather which 'they were not in a condition to conclude, 'since they were constrain'd to fly before 'their Enemies, could be attributed to nothing 'but his Cowardice and want of Conduct. And at last, he declared to him, That the Army would no longer acknowledge him for their General, and therefore demanded of him the Seal of the Empire, and the Standard of *Mahomet*.

In this Danger wherein the Grand Visier found himself, he knew not presently what course to take; nevertheless, he made this quick Answer, 'That for the Marks of his Sovereignty, he could not Surrender them to 'any one but the Grand Signior himself, who 'had entrusted them in his Hands. Nevertheless, to avoid the Fury of the Soldiers, he Em-

bark'd upon the *Danaw*, as soon as Night came, and so betook himself to *Belgrade*, from whence he departed immediately for *Constantinople*.

The Visier was no sooner gone, but the Chieftains of the Rebellious Army dispatch'd away six Commissioners, who were no sooner arrived at the Port, but they declar'd to the Grand Signior, That they would no longer obey *Solyman*, nor the *Caimakan* his Lieutenant. They demanded next, that *Siaoux* Bassa, whom they had made choice of for their chief Captain, might be put in the Grand Visier's Place, and *Cuprogli* his Brother-in-Law, in the Place of the *Caimakan*; and carrying their Insolence as high as it was possible for any Ottoman Subjects, they added, That his Highness had nothing to do, but to resolve one way or t'other; for that the Army had given them no longer than a Months time to wait for his Answer.

How Insolent soever this Demand were, and how unwilling soever the Sultan might have been at another time, to have given the Command of his Army to *Siaoux Bassa*, nevertheless he now found himself constrain'd, in this disorder of his Affairs, to send him the Patent of Grand Visier, and the Standard of *Mahomet*, which *Solyman* had already resign'd. Nor was this sufficient to appease the Mutineers. For above Ten or Twelve Thousand Spahis or Janisaries, having left the Army, marched directly for *Constantinople*, under the leading of one they called *Little Mahomet*, being follow'd by a Bassa, with Eight Thousand Horse. And the Soldiers that staid with *Siaoux*, compell'd the

the new Visier to take the same Road, to demand of the Grand Signior the Head of *Solyman*, and some others of the General Officers.

It would be a difficult thing to make a true Relation of the Disturbances that were then in *Constantinople*, and the Trouble the Grand Signior was in. So that although he were convinc'd that *Solyman* was not Guilty, he was compell'd to cause him to be Strangled; and to send the Head of that Unfortunate Visier to his Rebellious Soldiers. He abandon'd to their Fury the Principal Officers, whose Lives they obstinately demanded. He paid them all the Money which he got from them, which were Arrested, and who were daily Tortur'd to squeeze more out of their Bones. Nor could all these low and poor Submissions prevent *Mahomet* himself from being depos'd; in whose stead *Solyman* his Brother was advanced to the Ottoman Throne, who had been shut up in a Dungeon above Forty Years.

During these Commotions in *Constantinople*, the Duke of *Lorrain* having settled his Soldiers in their Winter-Quarters, departed from *Transylvania*, to visit the Blockade of *Agria*. Where he was no sooner arriv'd, but he was wellcom'd with all the great and small Shot from all the Posts of the Blockade. By the Noise of which the Governor of *Agria*, being informed of the Dukes arrival, sent an Aga to him at the same time to Compliment him, with Orders also to let him know, That 'twas in vain for him to tire his Men in a Season so inconvenient; that therefore he advis'd him to draw off; since it

was to no purpose for him to continue in his obstinate Resolution to make himself Master of a Place, which he had block'd up for so long time without any Success, he being resolved to defend it to the last Extremity. To which the Duke caus'd this Answer to be returned, That he was not come before the place but only to streighten it more closely, and that he should find in a little time, which of the two was the most Resolute, he that was resolv'd to Attack, or he that was so well resolv'd to defend the Place. In short, the Duke rode round the Town to view it, and advanc'd to the very Counterscarp; yet not a Man from the Garison durst adventure to discharge a single Musket. However, as his presence was not necessary, after he had given Order for a closer Blockade, he departed for *Presburgh*, where the Emperor then resided, in order to the Crowning of Archduke *Joseph*, his Eldest Son, King of *Hungary*.

\* *Agria* Capitulated the 28th of *Novemb.* 1687 and the Garison went forth the 9th of the next Month; which was the same day that the Archduke was Crown'd.

Nor was the Governor of *Agria* so resolute as he seem'd to be; for some time after the Dukes departure he desired to \* Capitulate. And the day that he went out of the place, he protested, That he and all the Garison had subsisted without Bread for Seven Months together. The Duke of *Lorraine* was receiv'd at *Presburg* by their Majesties, with all the Marks of Joy that could be express'd. Some few days after he went to *Vienna*, and thence to *Innsbruck* to the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, his Wife; the Differences about Precedency not permitting him to be present at the Coronation of Prince *Joseph*; which Ceremony was perform'd the Ninth of *December*. The

The new Visier flatter'd himself that the Deposal of *Mahomet* the IV. would restore Tranquillity to the Ottoman Empire; but he found that his Expectations and his Hopes fail'd him. However, as it was his Interest to keep all quiet at *Constantinople*, he sent thither Two Thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Little Mahomet*, and some time after he follow'd himself. But no sooner had he left the Army, but the Spah's and Janisaries, who lay encamped some Miles from the City, having Disbanded themselves, got into it in small Companies; so that in a little time, they amounted to above Five Thousand; and these committed Infinite Disorders. *Siaoux* himself had much ado to pacifie this licentious Rabble, though they had chosen him for their Chieftain. Because he went about to tell them their Duty, they told him boldly, That he began betimes to follow the ill Example of his Predecessors; that he must expect as unfortunate an End as Theirs; and upon some tart Answers that he gave them, they demanded his Head of the Sultan; and being divided into several Quarters of the City, they committed most dreadful Hostilities. *Solyman* the III. was strangely confounded at the sight of so many Disorders; and seriously acknowledged, that having been a Prisoner for Forty Years together, he understood not how to Govern an Empire; and besides, that his Power not being well settled, he knew not what course to take to pacifie those mad-Men of Soldiers. However, in regard those Mutineers had made the detaining of their Pay the pretence of their Rebellion, care was taken to



distribute among them a great part of what was their due ; and after the Sultan had try'd by all the ways of Mildness and Sweetness to reduce 'em to their Duty, they were at length prevail'd upon to depart *Constantinople* , and take their Winter-quarters where they were assign'd 'em. After this, they made it their whole business to get all things ready against the Spring : They made new Levies of Men. *Hassan*, the new Bassa of *Aleppo* was nominated *Serafquier* in *Hungary* , according to the usual Custom of the Ottoman Empire, which is, That that Bassa is always to Command the principal Army in the absence of the Grand Visier. And in a Divan assembled on purpose, it was resolv'd, That in regard the Imperialists care as little for Sieges, as the Turks did for pitch'd Fields, they should after an extraordinary manner supply those Garisons in their Power with Men, to the end they might draw out Detachements from thence, as necessity requir'd, to make up small Parties to beat the Field, and harraß the Duke of *Lorraine*. *Chiaux's* were sent to the Princes of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, to give them notice of the Advancement of the new Emperor, and to solicit them at the same time to stick close to the Interests of the Port. And in regard that *Solyman* saw well that so long as he should be at War with the Emperor, he should never enjoy any Tranquillity during his Reign, he declar'd, That he Condemn'd the Declaration of War which had been made against him by *Makomet* the IV. before the Truce was expir'd ; adding withal, That to redeem the Credit which the Ottomans had lost by the Breach

Breach of those Treaties, it could be no shame for them to signify to the Emperor, that they were ready to enter into a Negotiation of Peace, to stop the Effusion of that Blood which was every day shed.

These prudent Precautions gave some Hopes, that *Solyman III.* being ascended the Throne, would settle a Calm in the Empire; and that in case the Emperor would not consent to a Peace, which he so freely offer'd of himself, that he should find himself in a Condition to withstand him, and to stop him in the Career of his Conquests. There was but one Obstacle that could make him fear the Disappointment of his Precautions; which was, that the Imperial Treasury was almost exhausted. The Army was not wholly pay'd off; and a great part of the Mutineers remain'd still at *Constantinople*, to have Right done them. There was a necessity of keeping several Armies on foot; and of vast Expences for the Preparations against the next Campaign. The only Expedient which the new Visier could find was to lay new Impositions upon the People; the Immense Sums which had been already heap'd together, by constraint upon the People, to pay the Taxes laid upon them, being not sufficient to satisfy the Soldiers. And these Impositions they were, that renewed the foregoing Troubles after so horrid a manner, that *Constantinople* was within a little of being sackt, and the new Sultan massacred by the Rebels. The Spahi's that staid in the City, joining with the Militia, and a part of the Rabble, themselves depos'd the Principal Officers from their Employments; and having be-

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sieg'd the Palace of *Siaoux*, that new Visier was butcher'd after the most miserable manner in the World. I only speak of some part of these Disorders in *Constantinople*. Upon this the Grand-Signior took off the new Impositions; and this begat him so much the Love of the People, that having set up the Standard of *Mahomet*, he rally'd together about the Seraglio above a hundred thousand Men; which though for the most part unarmed, shew'd however to great a Resolution, that the greatest part of the Mutineers were dispers'd or cut in pieces. After which, *Solyman* created *Ishmael* Bassa Grand-Visier, a Person much in the Peoples favour, which in a manner restor'd the City to its former tranquility. However this new Minister was laid aside in a little time after, and *Mustapha* Bassa was advanced in his Room. But the Bassa, who commanded at *Belgrade*, and had under him the *Hungarian* Army, upon the news of the new Visiers advancement, immediately mutiny'd, and set all in a flame, pretending that the Dignity was his due, after he had obtain'd by his Artifices and Intreagues, the Deposal of *Ishmael* Bassa. So that the Repose which the Ottoman Empire seem'd to enjoy, being but a Shadow of Peace, which might have been dissipated in a moment, there was just reason to hope, that if the Emperor had been as well serv'd then as he was in the preceding Campaignes, it would have been no difficult thing for him to have continu'd his Conquests; and to have render'd himself Master of all *Hungary*. But two unlucky and unexpected Circumstances gave him cause to fear that he should not be in

a Condition to make his Advantage of the Troubles and Divisions among the Infidels.

The first was, That the Elector of *Bavaria* had resolv'd not to take the Field. For though there had been a Regulation already made of the Body of the Army which he was to command, and that the General Officers that were to serve under him were nominated, yet at the same time that he was expected at *Vienna*, there came a Courier from him, who brought the news, that it was impossible for him to march into *Hungary*, by reason of the Marriage of his Sister with the Duke of *Tuscany*.

It was immediately suspected, that the Elector, who had so highly signaliz'd himself in the preceding Campaigns, was grown weary of serving under another General; and that the Marriage of the Princess his Sister was only a Pretence, which he was willing to lay hold of, that he might not be oblig'd to share his Honour with the Duke of *Lorrain*: and it was thought, the Elector by this design'd the sole Command to himself. In short, it was then reported, that a Minister of State had propos'd to the Emperor to make him *Generalissimo* of his Armies, and to keep the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Vienna* to be President of his Council of War, in the Room of Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, who was for that purpose to have been discharg'd from that Employment.

However it were, in regard the Emperor was far from doing that Injustice to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom he was to Sacrifice, as I may so say, Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, by sending him to the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*, under the Character

Character of his First Commissioner, only out of a Design to remove him out of the sight of an Enemy, of whom he would have had just reason to Complain ; and for that he had given a thousand Testimonies of his Affection for that Prince, and of the Confidence he had in his Counsels ; for these Reasons it was, that the Resolution of the Duke of *Bavaria*, whom he would have prefer'd before any other but the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose presence was so necessary in *Hungary*, troubled his Majesty very much.

The next Circumstance which was worse then t'other, was this, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was seiz'd at *Vienna* by a Distemper so dangerous, that all Men were afraid for the Life of that great Prince. The frequent Vomitings, and other scurvy Symptoms which accompany'd his Disease, made Men suspect at the same time, that he was Poyson'd. And in regard the Physicians unanimously despair'd of his Cure, the Emperor began to be pensive past Consolation. However such was the Care of those that attended him, and the Remedies apply'd so prevalent, that at length he began to mend. But then when it was thought the worst had been past, he fell into a Relapse so dangerous, that the Physicians gave him quite over. 'Tis true, that at first they would have conceal'd his Sicknes from the Queen Dowager of *Poland* ; but when they thought there was no hopes of Life, a Courier was sent away to *Inspruck* to let her understand his Condition, that she might have the satisfaction to see her Husband before he expir'd ; which brought her in haste to  
*Vienna.*



*Vienna*. But fortunately the Judgments of the Physicians prov'd Erroneous; for the Duke mended of a suddain. But still the Indisposition of Body, and the great weakneses under which he labour'd were such, that the Emperor well saw, that he could not be in a Condition to endure the Hardships of a Campagne, though perfectly recover'd in his Health. So that while he waited to regain the Duke of *Bavaria*, he gave the Command of the Army to *Caprara*.

However all this while there had been no care wanting at *Vienna*, to prepare against the Campagne; for they would not hear of any Peace with the Port. True it is, that the Grand Visier *Solyman*, after his Defeat, had written a Letter full of Elogies to the Duke of *Lorrain*, wherein he acknowledged, that the Losses which the Empire had sustain'd, proceeded only from the Grand Signior's Breach of Faith in violating the Treaties between the two Empires; but that having sufficiently paid for it, by all the fatal Events that had happen'd for Four years together, since the Beginning of the War, it was now time to stop the Effusion of Blood that had been spilt on both sides: but the Emperor would vouchsafe no Answer to the Visier. Quite the contrary; he was in Treaty with several Princes and States of the Empire, for a considerable Number of their Men, to recruit his wasted Regiments. He had rais'd Money to Pay his Soldiers; and at length he knew so well how to manage the Duke of *Bavaria*, that he not only granted him Three thousand Men to recruit his old Regiments, but he consented to march himself  
into

into *Hungary*, where the Turks began to move. All the Forces, being in their Winter Quarters, except those which were left in *Transilvania*, had Orders to meet at the Rendezvous appointed near *Esseck* about the Beginning of *June*: where the Imperial Army was muster'd Threescore thousand Men.

When the Duke of *Bavaria* arrived in *Hungary*, he found that the Turks had quitted *Pettie-Waradin*, and *Iffock*, which Count *Caprara* had Besieged; and which, though it were but a small Town, yet might have made a far longer and stouter Resistance, considering the situation of the Place. The Imperial Army was divided into two Bodies; of which the one, that was very considerable, was commanded by the Elector, and the other by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who had Orders to pass the *Save* and Besiege *Gradisca*, which the Turks immediately quitted, after they had set fire to the Town: on the other side, the Duke of *Bavaria* laid Siege to *Belgrade*, and carried it by Storm the 6th of *September*.

But at *Constantinople*, whatever Industry or means *Solyman III.* could make use of, to appease the Disorders that Ruin'd the Ottoman Empire, he could not possibly accomplish his Desires. The Punishments which he had inflicted to reduce the Rebels to their Duty, did but the more provoke 'em. The mild and gentle means which he had put in practice, render'd 'em more Insolent; and the most part of the Bassa's taking their Advantage of these Troubles, were revolted in *Egypt*, *Asia*, *Natolia*, &c other Places, where they endeavoured to make them  
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selves so many Sovereigns. The Soldiers deserted their Colours every day or mutiny'd; for that in this Condition of Affairs, it was impossible to find Money for their Subsistence, as they desired: And they whose Fidelity was to be rely'd upon were so cow'd, that they suffered themselves to be beaten every where.

Add to this, that besides that the new Sultan had no Kindness for War; for he had been bred up all his Life-time in Nothing else but reading the Alchoran, and other Books of the Law of *Mabomet*; he felt his Throne in such a tottering Condition, that he thirsted after Peace.

Then again *Mabomet* IV. was no sooner degraded, but he highly blam'd the Conduct of his Ministers in regard to the Emperor, against whom by their advice he had declar'd War, before the Expiration of the Truce. He had in his Prosperity often propos'd to his Ministers, that since nothing but a Peace could save the Ottoman Empire, so near declining, it could be no shame to the Musselmén to desire it of the Victor. He had recommended it to his new Vissiers, upon their Creation, in particular, to make Overtures of Peace to the Christian Generals upon all Occasions. He had solicited the Foreign Ministers at the Port, and such Princes to whom he sent the News of his Advancement to the Throne, to second him in so good a Work. And foreseeing that the Christians would begin their Campagne with the Siege of *Belgrade*, he had recommended it to the Bassa that Commanded there, to omit no opportunity

portunity of engaging them by an Accommodation to conclude a War that had cost so much Blood and Treasure. In pursuance of these Requests, several Foreign Princes began to interpose their Mediation. The Grand Visier and Bassa of *Belgrade* breath'd after Peace no less than the Grand Signior, and had neglected nothing to bring their Design to a happy Conclusion. But in regard the Emperor had other Things in Prospect, he always rejected the Propositions that were made him, how advantageous soever they were. Any other Prince perhaps but *Solyman*, would have taken these Repulses in disdain; and would have rather ran the *Risco* of being deposed, than beg a Peace from them that scornfully refus'd it him. But the welfare of his Empire, or rather his own Repose being of more value to him, than Honour purely Airy, there was no Stone which he left unturn'd to render the Emperor flexible. And at last to try the only way left, and the most probable to succeed, he sent his Ambassadors to *Buda*, to give his Majesty notice of his Advancement to the Throne, and withall to desire a Peace.

Now at the same time that the Emperor had advice of the Sultan's Resolution, the Elector of *Cologne* died. At what time the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*, having been elected Co-Adjutor to that Archbishop, pretended that the same Members of the Chapter that had elected him, ought to name him Elector in the room of him who was deceased, though the Pope had refus'd to Confirm their Election, and though the Elector deceased, had recommended by his  
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Last Will, Prince *Clement* of *Barvaria*. And at length, after several Contests, the Nomination was agreed: for that of Twenty four Voices, Cardinal *Furstenbergh* had Thirteen, and Prince *Clement* but Eleven. But in regard that the Cardinal was not qualified by the Laws of the Country; and for that also by the same Laws of the Country, it was requisite that the Cardinal should have had two Thirds of the Voices to have carried it from Prince *Clement* by \* *Postulation*, the Nomination was not adjudg'd lawful.

\* *When any one is put up to*

*be Elected who is not One and twenty years of Age, or not a German Born, or not a Canon of the Cathedral who has several Benefices; these four Conditions together, or one, or more, make that which is call'd Postulation. Cardinal Furstenbergh had Right by one Condition, as he was Bishop of Strasburgh. Prince Clement had none by that Condition; but for his not being One and twenty he was dispens'd with for that, from Rome. See the Universal Monarchy of Lewis XIV. Tom. 2.*

Thereupon the King of *France*, who design'd to have an Elector of *Cologne* that should be a devoted Creature of his own, such as the Cardinal of *Furstenbergh* was, had gain'd by Gifts and Bribes all the Members of the Chapter, that had given their Voices for the Cardinal. Nevertheless, finding that notwithstanding the Plurality of Voices, the Nomination was contested and look'd upon as void; he resolv'd by force to advance the Cardinal to the Electorate, and set himself above the Laws, in case the Pope, to whom the Business was referr'd, should give his Decision in favour of *Clement*; as the King had some reason to apprehend. To this purpose, he presently declar'd by his *Manifesto's*

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which he presented to the States General, and the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*, that he look'd upon the Enemies of the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*, as His; and not contented with menacing, he caus'd his Army to advance towards *Cologne*, expecting the Issue of the Affair that was to be decided at *Rome*.

Upon this, the Emperor, who till then, had clos'd his Ears to all Proposals of Peace that were presented to him from the Port, and who saw well, by the carriage of Affairs, that he should infallibly have a War with *France*, that he might not have two Enemies to deal with at once, now thought it not convenient to reject the Offers that were made him by the Sultan, and therefore determin'd that the Duke of *Lorraine* should go to *Buda*, to give Audience to his Ambassadors.

And indeed the choice which his Imperial Majesty made of the Duke, was a certain Sign that he had a desire to terminate the War, if he might have an advantageous Peace. For it is certain, That there was nothing which the Duke more passionately desir'd. And he had often brought the Emperor to agree with him in this, That he got nothing but desolate Countries in *Hungary*, while he suffer'd considerable Losses toward the *Rhine*, by the continual Claims and Enterprizes of the King of *France*. He had laid before him the Designs of that Monarch: He had pointed out to him the Methods he had taken since the Peace concluded at *Nimeguen*, to make himself Universal Monarch; and that there could not be too much hast made to limit his Ambitious Designs. And certainly, though  
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all that the Duke of *Lorrain* said, had not really been true, it was so highly his Interest, that the Emperor should turn his Arms against *France*, that he could not choose but desire a Conclusion of the War with the Turks.

But the Emperor, who listen'd after nothing but Fame, and saw nothing before his Eyes but Victory and Triumphs in *Hungary*, how desolate and ruin'd soever the Country was, of which he got Possession, had shut his Eyes to all that the Duke of *Lorrain* represented to him, though he were satisfi'd in the Wisdom of his Counsels. For he imagin'd, that after the K. of *France* had seiz'd upon *Strasbourg* and *Luxemburgh*, he would not adventure to Undertake any thing more. And that when he came to reflect upon the great Victories, which his Imperial Majesty won every day from the Ottomans, he would be afraid to buckle with a Prince so favour'd by Fortune. But when he found that the King of *France* was resolv'd to support the Cardinal of *Furstenbergh*, whom he had a long time look'd upon as the capital Enemy of the Empire; when he saw that the French were upon their march toward *Cologne*, and that he could no longer doubt but that he must have a War upon the *Rhine*, he then without any farther Hesitation, thought it high time to hearken to the Propositions of Peace that were made him by the Grand Signior, so that they were very Advantageous; and to avoid the spinning out of the Treaty, he made choice of the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose Interest it was to hasten the Affair.

There was also another Reason which made the Emperor cast his Eye rather upon the Duke than any other Minister of State, to Treat with the Sultans Ambassadors. For the Turks had an Opinion, That the Duke who was become the Terrour of their Armies, not being able to take the Field, was no more in a condition to Command the Army; and that this was the main Reason which constrain'd his Majesty to think of a Peace. In short, they sent to *Constantinople* that the Duke would never recover of his Sickness, and the *Imans* cry'd out already in their Mosques, That they had all the reason in the world to hope that now their Prophet was appeas'd, since the General of the Christians was at the Gates of Death. And therefore it was of absolute Necessity that the Duke should appear, to make a more Advantageous Peace. So that these two Reasons joyn'd together, made the Emperor make choice of the Duke before any other, for this Important Negotiation.

And now the Duke, recovering his Strength by degrees, was no sooner in a Condition to endure the Inconveniencies of a Journey, but he departed from *Vienna*, together with the Queen Dowager his Wife, and safely in a short time arriv'd at *Buda*. They that were not Privy to the Secret, were of Opinion, that he was going to the Army; and his Enemies publickly reported, that he had never intended any such thing at that time, before he was perfectly recover'd, but that the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had so honourably behav'd himself the year before, in the Battel against the Turks, should  
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not acquire new Honour by the taking of *Belgrade*. But beside, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was not in a condition to endure the Toils of War; besides that the Queen his Wife, accompanied him in his Journey; and that he had consented that the Duke of *Bavaria* should command the Army in *Hungary*, his obliging and generous Behaviour toward that General, justified him to all the World. For although he went to visit the Camp at *Belgrade*, he came away the day before the Assault, because he would leave the Elector all the Honour of the Conquest.

And now the Duke and the Turkish Ambassadors being arriv'd at *Buda*, they offer'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to shew him their Commission from the Grand Signior to negotiate a Peace with him. At which time it was, that fresh News came that the Disorders and Confusions at *Constantinople* were broken out again; That the Janisaries had massacred a great many of the Officers of the Divan; that they had made an Attempt to Kill the new Visier, who was forced to make his Escape into *Asia*; And as News daily encreases, it was also farther added, that the new Sultan was deposed, and that *Mustapha*, the Eldest Son of *Mahomet IV.* was set up in his room.

This News, as uncertain as it was, might perhaps have wrought with any other than the Duke of *Lorrain*, to surcease the Negotiation that had brought him to *Buda*. And the Turks, though accusom'd to desire Peace, and to detain to that effect, Ambassadors in Hostage, found themselves compell'd to send first of all,

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and for a Pretence of sending, to lay hold on the Occasion that offer'd of Complementing the Emperor upon the Accession of their new Master to the Throne, which they never were accusom'd to do at other times. However, this unusual Forwardness apparently shew'd that the Port was at a great Stand. And these new Comotions which had some appearance of probability, had been sufficient ground on the other side to let his Imperial Majesty see, that it was for his Interest at that time to have prefer'd War before Peace. But all these Considerations never mov'd the Duke in the least. He was still of opinion, that all that could be gain'd from the Turks by a War, would not countervail the Losses which they should run the hazard of sustaining in *Germany*. And therefore considering that the Emperor could not maintain two Wars at a time, it was good Policy to grant a Peace to those that sought it, to the end he might bend all his Power against *France*. Therefore the Duke caus'd this to be said to the Ambassadors, That he had not left the Imperial Court but to negotiate a Peace with them, that might conduce to the repose of both Empires.

But just as he was about to enter into a Conference with the Turkish Ministers, his Ague unfortunately seizing him, he was constrain'd to return to *Esseck*, from whence he wrote to the Emperor that he resolv'd to transport himself to *Gran* through *Sclavonia* and *Croatia*, and so to *Inspruck*, till he were perfectly recover'd. Upon which, Count *Caraissa* had Orders to Conduct the Ambassadors to *Presburgh*.

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In the mean while, the King of *France*, who since the Truce for Twenty years, concluded in the year 1684. seem'd desirous to observe his Conditions with the Empire, thought it not convenient to interrupt the Progress of the Emperor's Arms against the Infidels, deeming it more for his Advantage, to leave him engag'd in a War, of which he had run the hazards, and of which the Success had been too doubtful some years before, then to break a Truce that suffer'd him quietly to enjoy the Fruits of his Conquests, and gave him time to fortifie his Frontiers, which he had so considerably enlarg'd since the Peace. He flatter'd himself, that the Emperor, contented with not being cross'd in his Designs, would suffer him to reap in Peace all the Advantages which the Death of the Elector of *Cologne* seem'd to secure to the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*; and which he passionately desir'd, to the end he might have so sure and stedfast a footing in the Empire, that he might be able one day, to strike home. But when he saw the ill success of his Negotiations; the Cardinal of *Furstenberg* disappointed of a Dignity, wherein he thought to have had a greater share than all his Rivals; the Pope not well inclin'd to favour him; the Emperor victorious; the Princes of the Empire resolved to stand by Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the Peace with the Turk ready to be concluded, notwithstanding all his Menaces, and the Approach of his Army near *Cologne*; all these things making him deeply sensible, that after all the Methods he had taken, his Honour was

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too far engag'd to recoyle; and that the only thing to be consider'd now, being whether to Attack, or be Attack'd, he judg'd it his Interest to begin, and resolv'd to assail the Empire, though the Emperor had not stirr'd a foot. And to that purpose he sits down before *Philipsburgh*, which was Surrender'd in a short time after to the Dauphin.

For though the King of *France* well understood, that the Siege of that Town would be look'd upon by the Emperor, as a Rupture of the Truce, since himself was the first that offer'd Violence; nevertheless being desirous to make the World believe, that his design was rather to defend himself, than assail others, he Publish'd a *Manifesto*, wherein he gave several Reasons, for his being compell'd to Invade the Empire: Protesting that he had no other intention than to procure the Publick Repose. That he was ready to restore *Philipsburgh* after he had taken it and demolish'd the Fortifications, and to joyn *Friburgh* also with it, provided the Cardinal of *Furstenbergh* might be put into Possession of the Electorate of *Cologne*: that the Truce should be chang'd into a perpetual Peace; if by vertue of that Peace he might keep all the Fortifications which he had built upon the *Rhine*, and all the Places which he had re-united to his Crown, in pursuance of the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimiguen*.

Sometime after the Emperor made answer to all the Reasons of the *Manifesto*; and having refus'd his Consent, that the Truce should be chang'd into a perpetual Peace, upon the  
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Conditions propos'd by the K. of *France*; as being that by which he gave away to perpetuity a sixth part of the Empire, of which the King had made himself Master; he laid aside all other thoughts, but those of defending himself.

Now in regard the Invasion of the French upon *Germany* was a thing not foreseen, either at *Vienna*, nor in any other Courts of the Empire, as being all lull'd asleep under the Faith of a Truce for Twenty years, the King of *France* had no great Trouble to Conquer in a Country which he found without Defence. So that after the taking of *Philipsburgh*, he invaded the *Palatinate*, under the Pretence which is universally known, and seiz'd upon *Wormes* and *Spire*, put a French Garison into *Mayence*; Besieged *Coblentz* and Bomb'd it, after he had ravag'd all the County of *Treves*; threaten'd to Burn *Francfort*, ruin'd all the Countries round about by the excessive Contributions which he exacted from the People, and of a suddain saw himself Master of the *Rhine* from *Hunninghen* to *Cologne*, which declar'd for the Empire.

However the Season was so far advanc'd, that it was impossible for the Emperor or the Princes interest'd to oppose the Progress of *France*. They were forc'd to let her do what she pleas'd her self. And the French Soldiers, who afterwards took up their Winter Quarters in the *Palatinate*, and other Countries newly conquer'd, committed a thousand Barbarous Inhumanities, without any regard to Capitulations.

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But these Exorbitances unusual and scarce heard of among Christians, did not produce that Effect which *France* expected; they only serv'd to exasperate the Princes and Neighbouring States of *Germany* to take more speedy and severer Courses.

The Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*, the Duke of *Hanover*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, after several Conferences together, both at *Magdeburgh* and other places, omitted nothing to put themselves into a Condition to expel the Common Enemy, so soon as the Season should permit them to take the Field: and the Emperor, in a just Rage, took such vigorous Resolutions, that he could not forbear openly to say, That he hop'd his Armies would prove no less Victorious upon the *Rhine*, than upon the *Danaw*, and that he would humble the French, as he had humbled the Ottomans.

However notwithstanding the firmness of his Resolutions, the Emperor found himself but in a bad Condition. He had two Enemies to deal with at once, who considering the State of his Affairs, were both formidable, though not both equally Puissant.

The Peace which was in Negotiation with the Port, was not an Affair so soon to be concluded. For upon the Invasion of the French into *Germany*, the Turks seem'd to have taken heart. Nor did the Ambassadors testifie that extraordinary earnestness to come to a Conclusion as they did before. On the one side they started such and such Difficulties, and new Scruples: on the other side they desir'd the consent of the Venetians; but more especially of the  
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King of *Poland* who oppos'd the Peace, and without whom there could be nothing concluded, considering how greatly they were beholding to him. But this was not the only thing that poster'd the Emperor; The Duke of *Lorrain* still continu'd ill. And though there were great hopes that he would recover his Health, yet in the mean time the Emperor could not build upon the Services he could do him: for that supposing his Armies were ready to take the Field, yet he knew not what to determine in respect of the Duke, whose Presence was no less necessary in *Hungary* than in *Germany*.

At this time, the Prince of *Orange* assisted with Ships and Men out of *Holland*, made that unexpected Descent into *England*, with which all the World has rung, and which prov'd so fatal to King *James*, while it set all the rest of *Europe* at Liberty, from the Bondage it had so long been groaning under. He set Sail from *Holland* the 15th of *November*, and the 26th of the same Month, the King of *France* declar'd War against the *United Provinces*, under pretence that they had engag'd with the Emperor, to cross the Establishment of the Cardinal of *Furstenberg* in the Electorate of *Cologne*. But there is no Person so dull in this Age as not to see that the King of *France* had other Motives than that. But however it were, that flourishing Republick was become a new Enemy to *France*, that gave the Emperor hopes he might be reveng'd of the French. In short, the States General engag'd to assist him: and their Ambassador at the Port press'd with so much Earnestness the Conclusion of the Peace, that it was  
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not long of the toyle of that Minister, that his Endeavours did not succeed.

If the Emperor were afflicted for the Sickness of the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Duke was no less concern'd than he ; and indeed till then, he had endur'd his Sickness with a wonderful Patience, but then he began to complain of his hard Fate. For Affairs were come to that pass which he had wish'd for a long time. He saw a large Harvest of Lawrels to be reap'd upon the Banks of the *Rhine*. He saw all the Princes of *Germany* unanimously inclin'd to enter into a Confederacy with the Emperor ; and the Pope was his Friend : nor was there any Question, but that *Spain* would be of the Confederacy, and that they might in time engage the Princes of the North, the Cantons of *Switzerland*, and all *Italy*. And in a word, the Duke must be thought very short sighted, not to see, that the only Revolution in *England*, was a blow that disappointed all the King of *France*'s Measures. So that since the Death of *Charles* the Fourth, the Duke had never such fair hopes of being restor'd to his Territories as now. He knew the People lov'd him ; that they heartily wish'd for his return ; and that they only waited an opportunity never so little favourable to shake off the Yoke of *France*. When he came to make these Reflexions, he was willing to be in *Germany* ; but his Indisposition kept him at *Inspruck*. And whatever Hopes and Encouragement the Physicians gave him ; he despair'd of ever being able to endure the Inconveniences of a Campaign ; and these thoughts, which entirely possess'd him, did him more Mischief than

than the Ague that consum'd him. If the Desire of Health could have contributed to the Cure of his Malady, he had soon been rid of his trouble. For never did any Prince more ardently desire to recover his Health, than he did. But they were ineffectual Desires. However when he had the least of hope to be in a Condition to act again, his Ague remitted: and it was so necessary, that this Commencement of his Recovery should be known at Vienna, that he dispatch'd away a Courier on purpose. And the Emperor being overjoy'd at the News, wrote back to him at the same time, that being his Counsel, and his Right Arm, he wish'd for his being near him, so soon as his Health would give him leave.

While the Duke was gathering Strength at *Inspruck*, there was nothing omitted at Vienna, nor in all the Courts of the Empire, that might contribute to the success of the next Campaign; so that when the Emperor perceiv'd that the Turkish Ambassadors took their advantage of the War which the French King had declar'd against him; and besides, that the Peace which they Negotiated was impossible to be concluded, or at least that it requir'd a long time to satisfy the Interests of the Venetians and the King of Poland, they took all the best Methods imaginable to make Head against the King of France and the Ottomans both at one time. Men were rais'd every where; and while the Forces of the Elector of Saxony, Landgrave of Hesse, and Duke of Hanover, march'd to take up their Winter-quarters about *Frankfort*, to be the more ready to Rendezvous

deztvous again as occasion ſhould ſerve, the Emperor ſent ſix Regiments of Horſe, and four or five of Infantry toward the *Rhine*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* alſo arriv'd at *Weizel*, where lay a great part of his choiceſt Men. The Biſhop of *Munſter* having declared for the Emperor, promis'd to put Eight hundred Men into *Cologne*, whither alſo the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was to ſend Two thouſand Dragoons. The *Hollanders* ſent Seven or Eight thouſand Men into the Country of *Juliers*; and apprehending leſt the French ſhould make themſelves ſole Maſters of the Electorate of *Magence*, they ſent a conſiderable Force to ſeize upon the greateſt part of the Towns; and Eight Regiments of *Hanquer* advanced at the ſame time toward *Treves* to ſecure *Coblentz*, and the adjacent Countreys.

Theſe Proceedings of the German Princes, and the extraordinary Preparations that were making every where, did not a little alarm *France*; though ſhe had been deſigning this War a long time ago, and for that reaſon was provided with a much more numerous Army than that of the Confederates, ſurprized, by the Invaſion. Only becauſe ſhe had not foreſeen the Revolution in *England*, ſhe was no leſs apprehenſive of a Back-ſtroak from thence. However diſſembling her Fears, ſhe began with the *Palatinate*, *Wittemberg*, and ſeveral other Imperial Cities, where ſhe committed thoſe Abominated Acts of Inhumanity that all *Europe* trembles at; and at the ſame time that ſhe laid all in Aſhes, and gave her Soldiers all manner of Licence, ſhe threw about her Declarations every.

every where, That she desir'd nothing more then Peace. And at the same time also she made a particular Proposal of Peace to the Emperor, imagining that her Hostilities had frighted Vienna out of her Senses. And some report, that the Duke of Lorrain, to whom he gave some hopes of the Restitution of his Territories, solicited his Imperial Majesty for an Accommodation. But that was a fiction impos'd upon him, there being nothing more distant from his thoughts. But on the other side, he wrote to him, that the Offers of an Enemy were never to be accepted; that they were always to be mistrusted; that it behov'd him to declare War against France; that to make Peace with a Crown that always took the slightest Occasions in the World to Violate it, would be a fault never to be forgiven; considering the good Condition of his Affairs by vertue of such Potent Alliances. That as for what concern'd himself, the Interests of the Empire were his own, and that he would never act but with regard to the Common Cause; and that he would be bold to say, There was never a Prince in Germany but what was of his Mind; there being some who affirm'd, that there was no need of any Publick Declarations, seeing that without any Declaration preceding, the King of France had declared War against the Empire by Acts of open Hostility, not to be thought of without Horror. In a short time after came forth the Result of the Dyet at Ratisbonne, full of Thundring Expressions against Lewis XIV.

I. That contrary to the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*, he had seiz'd upon several Places that belong'd to the Empire; That he had rais'd Cittadels, built Bridges upon the *Rhine*, cut down Woods, and had assum'd the Propriety of whole Countries to himself by vertue of his pretended Pretentions.

II. That in the Places so seiz'd and reunit'd, he had made most unjust Alterations as well in reference to the Spiritual as Temporal Government.

III. That to stop the Progress of the Christian Arms against the Ottomans, he had attack'd the Empire by surprize, besieg'd and taken *Philipsburgh*, invaded and oppress'd the Countreys, Cities, and Fortresses of several Electorates and other Principalities, violating the Treaties of Peace and Truce, and his Royal Assurances so often reiterated.

IV. That contrary to the Faith of Capitulations Signed by the Dauphin, he had Exacted from those who had submitted to him, excessive Contributions; had destroy'd by Fire, and the endurance of a thousand Miseries, whole Societies of People, who living under the security of the Truce, were surpriz'd without any Defence; that he had sack'd and burnt whole Towns and Cities; not sparing the Palaces of Princes, neither the Sacred Residencies of the Religious, nor the Ecclesiastical Monuments of Ancient Devotion.

V. That he had destroyed the Imperial Chamber, and had carried away all the Rolls, Records, Deeds, and Evidencies of the Imperial Crown.

VI. That



VI. That he would compel the Emperor by force to acknowledge the Cardinal of *Furstenberg* to be Elector and Archbishop of *Cologne*, contrary to the Electoral Canons which had been made, and which the Pope had confirm'd.

VII. And lastly, That he fill'd with Armed Soldiers that Electorate, and the Principalities adjoining, from whence he had exacted vast Sums by Military Executions, and committed several other Spoils upon the Subjects of the Empire; omitting nothing whatever lay in his power to oppress their Liberties.

After which Enumeration of their Grievances, the Dyet declared *France* to be an Enemy to the Empire: adding withall,

I. That the War with that Crown ought to be reputed a Common War for the Preservation of the Empire, and that it was declar'd to be such.

II. That they would oppose against the Pretences of Religion maliciously invented in the King of *France's Manifesto*, to disunite the Members of the Empire, a unanimous Union of all their Forces, to restore Things to their first Condition, and constrain the Enemy to repair the Damages he had done, and to give Security for the time to come.

III. That they would not entertain under any pretence whatever, any Correspondence or Neutrality with *France*, nor with her Ministers or Adherents; and that all those who should assist Her directly or indirectly, should be declared Enemies.

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IV. That

IV. That Notice should be given of this Result to all the Princes of *Italy*, to all Foreign Crowns and States, and generally to all that had Dependence upon the *Roman Empire*.

V. That his Imperial Majesty should be desir'd to make a Peace with the Turk, to the end that by the joint Force of the Interested Princes, they might be enabl'd, the more strenuously to carry on the War against *France*.

Lastly, That they should with all the speed that might be agree together upon the Ways and Methods, how to support and continue the War according to the Constitutions of the Empire.

This was the Result of that Dyet, which Prince *Herman of Baden* approv'd in every particular, in the Name of the Emperor, with this supply; 'That it being notorious, that the Crown of *France* had fomented the Rebellion in *Hungary*, and incited the Turk against his Imperial Majesty, and that there was also certain Information given, that he had offer'd the *Ottoman Port* an Offensive Alliance, with assurance, that as he had begun the War, to procure the Establishment of that Empire, so he would not make a Peace without the Sultans Consent; there was a necessity for these Reasons, to declare that Crown the Common Enemy not only of the Empire, but of all Christendom, as well as the Turk himself; as was done in the year 1544 upon the like occasion against *France*, by the general Assembly at *Spire*.

Nor were these only bare words; for the Emperor had no sooner declar'd War against *France*,

*France*, but he studied all the ways to maintain it. He erected Magazines in all places where he thought them necessary; he prest the hastening of the Levies which were already begun; he recall'd part of his Forces that were in service against the Turks. And to the end that the Army which was to be sent into *Germany* might be encourag'd by being under the Command of a Captain-General that was concern'd for the Success of the Enterprize, he design'd the Elector of *Bavaria* for *Germany*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* for *Hungary*.

Not that it was less the Interest of the Duke of *Lorrain*, then of the Duke of *Bavaria*, to have *France* brought down. For the Concerns of Prince *Clement* were nothing in comparison with those of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was despoyl'd of his Territories by the Usurpations of that Crown. But in regard the Emperor had a design to give two Blows at once, and for that the very Name of the Duke of *Lorrain* was become a Terrour to the Ottomans, he thought it necessary to appoint him against those Enemies whom he had so often vanquish'd, believing that the Elector of *Bavaria*, fighting as well for his own proper Interests as those of the Empire, would be no less formidable to *France*, then the other to the Ottoman Port, after so many famous Conquests of which he had his share in the *Hungarian* Campaigns.

There was also another Reason which induced the Emperor to make choica of the Elector of *Bavaria* before the Duke of *Lorrain* to Command upon the *Rhine*, which was the Indisposition of his Body; and because *France*

was the Aggressor, whereas the Port was only upon the Offensive Part; besides, that there was all the Reason in the World, that the French would be stronger in *Germany*, then the Turks in *Hungary*; and therefore there was an absolute necessity of opposing against *France* a General that was in perfect Health, and in a Condition early to take the Field.

Now at the same time that the Emperor had tak'n this Resolution, and made it known to the World, that the Elector of *Bavaria* was to act upon the *Rhine* with a considerable Army, which advanced every day to join the Confederates, while the Duke of *Lorraine* prosecuted his Victories in *Hungary* toward the total reducing of that Kingdom, if his Health would permit him, he found himself perfectly recover'd; so that he felt himself in a Condition to leave *Inspruck*, and attend the Emperor with his Counsels, in order to the taking such Methods as were necessary for the carrying on the two great Designs.

And in regard there was nothing which the Duke more passionately desired than to Command in *Germany*, so soon as he arrived at *Vienna*, he used all his endeavours to make the Emperor alter his Resolutions: protesting however at the same time, That he had no other will but the Emperors; That he was ready to march into *Hungary*; and he agreed with his Imperial Majesty, that his Presence was absolutely necessary in that Kingdom. Nevertheless, after he had made it appear, that the Turks would not be in a condition to undertake any thing Considerable, in regard the Ot-  
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romans were all raw Soldiers, New rais'd Men, or cow'd by the Victories of the Christians: After he had laid before him, that he wanted not Politick and wary Generals to oppose against the Ottoman Army; but that the main Effort was to be made upon the *Rhine*, where the King of *France*, who had been a long time preparing for this War, would not fail to employ the Choice and Flower of all his Forces; His Imperial Majesty considering, that the Dukes Presence was more necessary in *Germany* than in *Hungary*, submitted to his Reasons, and resolved at length after more mature deliberation, to have two Armies in *Germany*, the one Commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the other by the Duke, and to send Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* into *Hungary*, who had signaliz'd himself in *Bosnia*; where with four or five thousand men he totally defeated an Army of twenty thousand Turks.

At length the Season for Consultation and Preparations having given way to that of Action, the Duke of *Lorrain* departed from *Vienna*, and arrived with about fourteen or fifteen Thousand men near *Coblentz*, where he was to joyn the Forces of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landtgrave of *Hesse*. The Elector of *Bavaria* marched toward the Upper *Rhine*, with an Army of ten Thousand Bavarians, Seven thousand Imperialists, and four thousand Suabians; while the Elector of *Brandenburgh* advanced toward *Cleves* with about Twenty thousand men of his own and the Bishop of *Munster*'s.

These motions of the Confederate Armies were fatal to several Towns, as *Oppenheim*,



*Worms* and *Spire*, which had surrendred to the French, and flater'd themselves that they should be dealt with no otherwise than according to the Laws of War; but met with a destiny far more Cruel and Terrible than that of the *Palatinate*; for they were not only utterly consumed by Fire, but besides, the Inhabitants who had been permitted to carry away the best of their Goods, were expos'd to the plunder and fury of the Soldiers. For the French, who during the last Wars, had besieged and taken several Towns and Cities before their Enemies were in a condition to take the Field, now quitted all those which they had surpris'd after the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, except *Bon*, *Mayence*, *Keyserwart*, and some other inconsiderable places; but at the same time that they quitted 'em, they set 'em on fire, and of one of the most delightful Countries of *Europe* made a vast and hideous Desert, after they had committed such Acts of Barbarity and Inhumanity that after Ages will hardly believe.

During these Hostilities and Burnings, the Confederate Princes did not sleep; they Expell'd the French out of some Forts, and petty places which they thought themselves able to keep; they worsted them in several Encounters; and *Keyserwart*, which the Duke of *Brandenburg* besieged, surrendred in four days after he had opened his Trenches: And now after so prosperous a Beginning which was taken for a good Omen, all the Generals met at *Francfort*, where they held a Council of War, wherein after they had Unanimously resolv'd to give the Honour of the Command to the Duke of *Lor-*  
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rain, with a promise that they would never sheath their Swords till they had restored him to his Dominions, they agreed to besiege *Mayence* and *Bon*, before they made any farther attempts, since it was not safe to advance into the Enemies Country, before they were Masters of those two Towns.

*Mayence* was no considerable Town, before the King of *France* got possession of it : but the Scituation of it was such as to be able to stop the Imperialists. And therefore the King had no sooner secur'd it with a French Garison, but he ordered it to be Fortify'd; and the Marquis *d'Uxelles* who was appointed Governor, continued the Work with so much assiduity, that it is incredible how strong that City was become, while the French had it in their hands.

And in regard it was expected that the Confederates would besiege it, it was Garison'd with above Ten thousand men, the best and choicest Soldiers under the best Officers of *France*.

However, the difficulties of the Siege could not stop the Duke of *Lorrain*. Upon the 16th of *July* he crossed a small River two Leagues below the Town, with an Army of Twenty thousand men, and presently caused four thousand Croats to advance, whom the French durst not adventure to attack, tho' they were rally'd forth to meet them with a great Body of Horse. The next day the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse* passed the *Main*, above *Mayence*, and posted their Men within Cannon-shot of the Town, on that side where the Duke of *Lorrain's* Army began to encamp.

The 18th about three Thousand Country People wrought in the Approaches: And the same day the French made a sally, but were repulsed with extraordinary vigour by the Imperialists; at what time the Duke of *Bavaria* being arrived in the Camp, they prepared for a formal Siege, and to batter the Town.

Not to stop upon the particulars of the Siege, the Town was assaulted in three Places. The Duke of *Lorraine* commanded one Attack, and the Duke of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse* the other two. The Besieged defended themselves desperately, and their sallies were so frequent and so mettlesome, that they often ruin'd in one, what the Confederates had been toying several days to Erect. The Sixth of *August*, when least expected, they sallied out at Noon-day with about two thousand pickt men, and fell with such fury upon the *Saxons* Quarter, that they overturn'd all before 'em; but the Duke of *Lorraine* hastning to the succour of the Elector, the Imperialists, animated by the Presence and Example of their General, repell'd the French with so much vigour, and fought with that fury, that above twelve hundred men on both sides were number'd to cover the place with their dead Bodies. But this fine Sally was nothing in Comparison of another that followed some days after. For in the two former they had made a dreadfull slaughter, and cleared the Trenches; and therefore those two Actions proving so successfull, they resolv'd to try a third Sally with three Thousand men, Drums beating, and Colours flying. Now in regard that neither the Duke of *Lorraine*,

rain, nor any of the rest of the Generals expected their Third Effort, it caused no small Terror and Disorder in the Camp, of which the Enemy taking their advantage, fell on Pell-Mell upon four or five hunder'd men, that sold their Lives at a dear Rate; they nail'd two peices of Cannon, and having fill'd up the Trenches of the Confederates, posted their great Guard of Horse, where the Besiegers had begun to open their Trenches. But at length the several Generals having rally'd and re-encourag'd their Men, they repell'd the Enemy, cut to peices a great number of them, and regain'd their Post.

And now the Duke of *Lorraine* being resolved to try whether he could carry the Town by Storm, and fearing least the French should attempt to relieve it, wrote to the Elector of *Brandenburgh* to send him some Regiments of his Men, that being so reinforced he might be able both to carry on the Siege, and fight the Enemy in case they advanced to raise it. Which precaution was the more necessary, because their ran a report, that Marshall *Duras* was advancing with his Army, and orders to give the Confederates Battel. But it happen'd that the *Brandenburgh* Regiments were useless, for *Duras* never appeared.

After which, notwithstanding the fierce Resistance of the Besieged, the Beliegers by little and little gain'd the Outworks which the French possessed, and lodg'd themselves therein. Batteries were rais'd in every one of the Attacks, and they made themselves Masters of so much Ground, while the Cannon open'd a wide Breach;

Breach ; that the Duke resolv'd a General Assault.

To which purpose all things were prepared in readines: And the next day after this Resolution was approved by all the Generals at a Council of War, they began by break of day to play upon the Town from all the Batteries, and so continued till four in the Evening. At what time upon the throwing in of a Bomb, which was the Signal agreed on, they fell on, in every Quarter, with so much vigour and such undaunted Courage, that after a Bloody Contest of three Hours and a half they carry'd the Counterscarp.

At the beginning of the Assault, in regard the French were desirous to keep the Town whatever it cost, the ground was strew'd with dead Carcasses: And the Imperialists were they that lost most Men. For the Marquis *D'Uxelles*, who was acquainted with the Duke of *Lorraine*, believing the Hardest work would be at the Attack which he Commanded, he took not so much care of the other Attacks, that he might make the greater Resistance against the Duke: So that the *Saxons*, and the Regiments of *Hesse* and *Lunenburg*, were Masters of the Counterscarp an Hour before the Imperialists. But notwithstanding this Prosperous success of the Besiegers, the French continued firing their great Guns, and blew up three Mines that made a dreadful havock. Nevertheless the *Saxons* and *Lunenburgers* pursued the Enemy to the very Gates of the Town, and the Imperialists lodg'd themselves upon one of the Principal Bastions, making way through  
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the very fire of the Cannon, and an infinite number of Bombs, that were thrown from the Town.

As the fight was desperate on both sides, so the loss of the Confederates was very great; several Officers of Note, and a vast number of Common Soldiers. But in regard the loss of the French, to whom the Germans gave no Quarter, was much greater, the Marquis *D'Uxelles*, no sooner began to consider with himself, but he saw that if he should hold out any longer he should loose all his men. However he made a shew as if he intended to stand the t'other brunt. But when he saw that the Confederates began to fill up the Motes, with a purpose to assault the Town it self, he desired to Capitulate, and Hostages being given on both sides, the Articles were concluded.

\* This Siege lasted not above two Months: And it is most certain that if the Besiegers would have made use of their Bombs, they might have sooner compelled the French to a Surrender, notwithstanding the strength of their Fortifications, and the number of their Cannon. But in regard the Generals were willing to preserve *Mayence*, they chose to spend a little longer time, with the loss of a few more Men, than to deface the City, and at the end of the Siege to be the Masters only of a heap of Ruins.

\* *Mayence* was invested the 17th of July 1685, and surrendered the 11th of September following.

While the Duke of *Lorraine* signalized himself in *Germany*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* obtain'd a considerable Victory over the Turks in *Servia*. Of which the Emperor received the News almost at the same time, that he had the Tidings of the taking *Mayence*. But notwithstanding these

these Successes as well upon the Rhine as in *Moravia*; other ill News render'd his rejoycing imperfect. For the French to repair the loss they had received, continuing their Hostilities after the same manner as they began, Burnt all before 'em from *Heidelberg* to *Strasbourg*; and at length made *Frankendall* taste of their Mercy; the only Town in the *Palatinate*, which till then they had spared.

At the same time that the Confederates laid Siege to *Mayence*, they determin'd also the Siege of *Bon*, to make themselves Masters of two Cities at a time if it were possible. The Duke of *Brandenburg* who was to Attack that Place, and who had already carried the Fort of *Bael*, made tryal at first to reduce the Town by his Cannon and Bombs; as being willing to spare his own and the Confederates Men. To which purpose, he was no sooner set down before the Town with part of his, and the Bishop of *Munster's* Men, together with some *Holland* Regiments, but he fell to raising his Batteries. The Effect was quick and terrible; for in less than two Days the City was destroy'd and laid in Ashes, all but one great Tower, and one Church, which the Bishop of *Munster's* Men at last quite ruin'd with their Cannon. But all this was so far from discouraging the French, that instead of Surrendring they made continual Sallies; so that the Elector resolv'd to have laid a formal Siege to the Place. To which purpose, all things were prepar'd in a readiness; and there was no question but the City would have been carried in a small time, after the Havock which the Bombs had made. But when all

all things were just ready, the Elector receiv'd three pieces of News that broke all his Measures.

The first was from the Elector of Trier, That the Marquis of *Boufflers* having drawn together a considerable Body, was advanc'd towards *Coblentz*, which constrain'd him to send away General *Schilling* with a Detachment of Seven or Eight thousand Men to defend those Parts. The second was from Prince *Waldeck*, who finding himself not strong enough in Horse to deal with Marshal *d'Hannover*, sent for the Dutch Cavalry, then before *Bois*. Which constrain'd him to send away a Detachment of Seven Regiments. The third was from the Duke of *Lorraine*, then before *Meyence*, who desir'd a Reinforcement of Men, as has been already observ'd, in regard of the Resolution he had taken to storm that Place. So that the Elector was forc'd to send away a third Detachment, which weaken'd his Army so very much, that finding he was no longer able to carry on the Siege, he only block'd it up at a Distance.

Which though it streighten'd the Place considerably; and that the Garison were extremely weaken'd every day by Diseases that swept away the Soldiers; and that they were in great want of all things; nevertheless the Count *d'Asfeld* who commanded there, would by no means think of Surrendering, but made continual Sallies. For he imagin'd that the Confederates had work enough before *Meyence*, and therefore could not be in a Condition to Besiege him till that Affair were over, in which Interim he might

might be reliev'd, and strong enough to deal with the Duke of *Brandenburg*. But while he fed himself with these Hopes, *Mayence* Surrender'd, and that News which he so little expected, strook the Garison with such a Consternation, that the Duke of *Brandenburg* having Summon'd the Town, the Governor desir'd to Capitulate; but his Conditions were thought so unreasonable, considering the Condition of his Affairs; that a Siege was resolv'd on, and two days after effectually prosecuted.

Nevertheless *Mayence* was no sooner reduc'd, but the Saxons who were extreamly tired during the Siege, were sent into new Quarters to refresh themselves; The Bavarians advanc'd toward the *Palatinate*; and one part of the Imperialists march'd with the Duke toward *Bonn*. So that the Forces which had already form'd the Siege, having receiv'd so considerable a Reinforce, the Duke of *Lorraine* immediately began to sink his Approaches, and raise his Batteries, which was done with so much diligence, that in two or three days they were ready for a General Assault. I shall say no more, but that the Trenches were run on to the Foot of the Counterscarp, and that the Breaches being made, all things were ready for Battery, though the continual Rains for some days, delay'd the General Assault; but then the Weather proving fair, the 9th of *October* was fix'd. The *Brandenburghers*, Dutch, and Bishop of *Munster's* Men were appointed to Attack the Counterscarp, Half Moon, and Covert Way; and the Duke of *Lorraine*, who some days before was got within a hunder'd Paces of the Horn-work,

work, with the Hessiens, Lunenburghers, and those others which he brought from *Mayence*, undertook the Storming of that Hornwork.

The French disputed long the Covert Way, firing most dreadfully upon the Assailants. But at length the Count of *Dona* leading on the *Grand Musqueteers*, and the *Younger Brothers* of *Brandenburgh* having broken down the Palisadoes, they fell Pell-mell upon all that stood in their way, and after a horrible Slaughter, carried the Half Moon, and lodg'd themselves upon the Counterscarp. The *Hollanders* also, and *Munsterians* signalized themselves highly in this Onset, venturing through the Fire of the Great and Small Shot with such an undaunted Courage, that they lost above Five hundred Men, and had Seven or Eight hundred Wounded. The *Brandenburghers* were not so rudely handled, but they lost several Officers of Note; and among the rest *Monsieur de St. Bonnet*, who after he had performed several great Actions as the Head of a Regiment in *Candy*, in the Service of the King of *France*, and in the last Campaigns of *Hungary*, where he serv'd a Volunteer, had also made himself no less remarkable in the Service of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

While these things thus pass'd in the *Brandenburgh* Attack, the Enemy was assail'd with no less vigor in that which the Duke of *Lorrain* Commanded. 'Tis true, his Men were repulsed with much Gallantry at first; but that Bravery serving only to incense them the more, and stimulate their Courage, they return'd with such an unwelcome fury, that they dishearten'd French, after they had sprung two Mines, retired

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tired into the Town, so that the Duke of Lorraine lodg'd his Men upon the middle of the Hornwork, with the loss of no more than a Hundred and thirty Men.

Nor did the Duke or the rest of the Generals think fit to stop there; they were all resolv'd to enter the Town also by main Force; more especially the Duke of Lorraine. But the Count of Hasfeldt, who was himself dangerously wounded in the Defence of the Half Moon, seeing all the Outworks lost, and fearing a second Assault, resolv'd at length to Surrender. So that having sent out the Major of the Regiment of Castres, who was Conducted to his Highness of Brandenburg, by Monsieur Dorsey his Adjutant Camp-Master General, and that Major having presented him a Draught of a Capitulation, the Proposals were generously accepted, though extremely Advantageous to the Governor, considering the Extremity he was in. But

\*Bon was formally besieged some days after the taking of Mayence;

Count Hasfeldt Capitulated the 12th of Octob. 1685. and three days after the Garrison went out.

the Season being far spent, it was thought the best to preserve good Soldiers, by granting a fair Composition to those who had bravely done their Duty \*. For in short, it is most certain, that never any Garrison was better defended than this.

It may be said that the Emperor had all the Advantages he could desire, considering the Condition of his Affairs: Victory accompanied his Arms, wherever they advanc'd. For at the same time that Bon was reduced, the Marquis of Baden took Nissa, after he had defeated the Turks in a Battle fought not far from that Town, wherein the Infidels lost between seven and Eight thousand Men, their Artillery, all their Provisions and Baggage. 'Twas

It was thought the Confederates would have undertaken some other Siege. But the Soldiers were so tired, and the Season so inconvenient, that all the Generals began to think of resting themselves, and preparing for the next Campaign.

Therefore the Duke of *Lorrain*, after he had dispos'd of his Men in their Winter Quarters, departed for *Vienna*. Only he stay'd some time at *Ratisbonne*, where he found that the Dyet had made several terrible Edicts against *France*. For that Assembly not only forbid the Subjects of the Empire all manner of Communication and Commerce with the French; not only ordain'd their Expulsion from all the Courts of the Empire, of what Quality soever or Profession they were; even the Ecclesiastical Persons themselves; but also declared moreover, That any Foreign State that should propose any thing in favour of *France*, should be reputed an Enemy to the Emperor, and the Confederates.

As for the D. of *Lorrain*, he had caus'd frequent Memorials to be presented to the Dyet, wherein he set forth, that the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, having been wrested from his Uncle, *Charles IV.* after such a manner, as all *Europe* well knew, it was not just that the Heirs of that Prince should be depriv'd of them all their life-time; wherefore the Dukes of *Lorrain* being Princes of the Empire, and Members of the Circle of the *Upper Rhine*, he had address'd himself to that Assembly, to demand of them, that he might be assisted by main force

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against the King of *France* : alledging that though that Monarch had in some measure acknowledged at the Peace of *Nimeghen*, that he detain'd certain Dominions that did not lawfully appertain to him ; yet he offer'd no Promise of Restitution , but upon Conditions so hard and unjust , that he could not accept them ; as he had order'd his Ambassadors to declare in the Assembly of the Plenipotentiaries By the Constitutions of *Germany* , when any Member of the Empire is disturbed in the Possession of his Territories , or happens to be despoil'd of them, all the rest of the Princes of that Circle are bound to defend him, and use all their Endeavours for his Restoration : and by the same Constitutions, if that Circle is not sufficiently Powerful to effect it, the Circles adjoining are to assist. And if the adjoining Circles are not strong enough to do the oppressed Prince justice, then the whole Empire is oblig'd to undertake his Defence ; and the Emperors themselves make the same engagement, in the Capitulations which they Sign at their Election, and when they receive the Imperial Crown. Now as the Dyet of *Ratisbonne* represents the Body of the Empire , the Duke had had recourse to that Assembly to be restor'd to his Duchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, with a design to solicit and press them, to make use of all the necessary means to compel *France* to make Restitution upon reasonable Terms. But notwithstanding the great Inclination of the Dyet to have given the Duke a favourable Answer, the best part of the Princes of the Empire had

had so many Cautions to observe, and were so entangled with the Court of *France*, that all the Remonstrances which the Duke had made himself, or caus'd to be made, prov'd always fruitless. For in short, since *France* was become so Potent, The Territories of the Duke of *Lorrain* lay too conveniently, considering the Prospects that he had, for him to come to any friendly Accommodation, but upon the Terms which he propos'd at *Nimegben*; and perhaps he had made such as should have been infinitely much harder, seeing that the greatest part of the Princes of the Empire were bound to furnish the Emperor with Forces, to continue his Conquests in *Hungary*. And as Affairs then stood, there was no compelling *France* to make the Duke Restitution, but by Declaring War against her, which *Germany* could not undertake, as having at the same time to do with the Ottoman Port. And this the Duke of *Lorrain* knew well enough himself. However these were Formalities which he was oblig'd to observe, and of which he might make use in Season; for that Great Prince had his future Prospects as well as others. In short, therefore, the Reasons which had oblig'd the Dyet not to give any Effectual Answer in his behalf now ceasing, since *France* had Declared War against the Empire by laying Siege to *Philipsburgh*, the Duke laying hold of the Circumstance, and reckoning much upon the great Services he had done the Emperor, and which he was going to do him in *Germany*.

he presented a New Memorial to the Dye, to which the Dye having return'd him an Answer to his Wish, he had certainly made a push for it, at the Beginning of the Spring. But Death surprized him, when he least expected that Fatal Blow, and at a time that he saw himself arriv'd at the very Eve of a Triumphant Holiday. All things seem'd to Promise this Illustrious Prince, that the same Victorious Fortune that had accompanied him in *Hungary* with so much Glory, would attend him still in *Germany*: the taking of *Mayence* and *Bon* were sufficient to preface it. He had by his Valour cut out a Glorious Way to re-enter his Dominions, as soon as he appear'd upon the *Rhine*. But he had the Destiny of that Great Captain of the People of God, so famous in Sacred History, to see the Promis'd Land, but not the Happiness to enter into it.

This Prince, whose loss the Confederates will have reason long to bemoan, as they have already found by Experience the last Campagne, gave himself almost no repose, in the midd'lt of those Designs he had to give but one fair Blow, to disappoint the measures of *France*, and which it was impossible for her to have Fended off. He studied Night and Day the means to humble that Crown; and knowing 'twas impossible to accomplish his Desires, but by taking extraordinary Methods, and making vast Preparations, he was always in Action. He had been oblig'd for some time to be absent from the



the Imperial Court; where the Affairs of War call'd him; which were the sole Affairs that employ'd him, and in which he took delight. But in regard the Emperor determin'd upon nothing, but what was debated before hand, and had therefore desir'd that the Duke might be at Vienna, where there was a Council of War to be call'd, he was upon the Road thither, and was arriv'd at Wetz, a small Village within three Leagues of Lintz, when he was seiz'd by the Malady of which he died; and which has put all Europe in Mourning. He felt at first a Pain in one Ear; but not apprehending any Danger from so slight a Matter, he said nothing of it: However he was much troubled with it all that Night, and the next Morning when he rose about Four of the Clock, believing he might be able to continue his Journey, he went to Church, to pay his Devotions to Heaven; but the Pain considerably increasing, he was forc'd to retire to his Inn, and go to Bed.

The Defluxion in his Ear, falling down about half an hour after upon his Throat, his Physician let him Blood, as he desir'd himself. But that Remedy producing no Effect, on the other side his Pain becoming still more violent, and finding his Strength decay, those sad Symptomes put him out of doubt that he was near his End. And the thoughts of this strook him all of a sudden; but then recollecting with himself, that Princes were subject to dye as well as other

Men, he put himself into the Hands of his Creator, sent for the Capuchins, made his Confession, and endeavour'd to acquit himself of those Duties which the last moments of Life require.

Immediately after he call'd his Confessor aside, and charg'd him with two Letters, one to be deliver'd into the Emperor's own Hands, with a Note containing these Latin Words,

*Sacrae Caesaræ Majestati Commendat se, & Ultimum Vale dicit Carolus Lotharingie Dux.*

Charles Duke of Lorrain Recommends himself to his most Sacred Imperial Majesty, and bids him his last Farewell.

The other Letter was for the Queen his Wife. By the first he Recommended to the Emperor that Illustrious Princess, his Children, his Domestick Servants, and the Lorrainers: And by the second he Recommended his Children and his Domestick Servants to the Queen; after he had giv'n her a thousand Marks of his tender Affection, and his Sorrow for so Harsh a Separation.

All this while he grew weaker and weaker; yet as his Strength decay'd, you might read in his Eyes and his Countenance, and observe in all his Words, that his Piety fortify'd him, and that he had resign'd himself over to dye.

The Father-Guardian of the Capuchins of *Wetz*, with nine others of his Order, exhorted him

him while he had time, to dispose of himself, and then approaching near the Bed to Kiss his Hand, he drew it back, only desir'd 'em all to to say the Office of the Dead, which they prepar'd to do, but while they were reciting the Prayers, his Speech began to fail him.

This Symptom was as it were the last Signal of the Death of that Illustrious Prince, but it nothing terrify'd him. He then made a sign for Paper and Ink; and wrote, That he desir'd nothing else but that they should Pray for his Soul. He had his right Sence and Judgment to the last Gasps. At length, after he had caus'd several Prayers to be said, finding himself ready to expire, he made another sign that they should Pray to God for him, and some minutes after he gave up the Ghost. This was the next day after he fell ill, being the 18th of *April*, 1690, at the beginning of the Forty ninth year of his Age. The Physicians said that he was choak'd with a Catarrh.

*Charles the Fifth of Lorrain* was a great Hero. He had a noble Air; though he affected an extraordinary plainness in his Habit; and though he were not at all proud, but modest and sober in all his Actions. He was well shap'd when he was Young; but too much Corpulency had alter'd his Proportion. You may see, through the whole Series of this History, that he was Courageous, and Born for Warlike Achievements. But the Qualities and Perfections of this great Prince were not only Military. He was a great Lover of Learning and Reading, especially of History and Politicks. He was

a perfect Master of three Languages, *Dutch, French, and Italian*; and understood *Latin* well. He was a Man of few words, but when he spoke, it was to the purpose. He was grave and serious with Strangers, however without Affectation; but with his particular Acquaintance Pleasant and Familiar. He went to the bottom of all things he Discours'd of; and hated Impertinence. He lov'd familiar Discourse; And he took great delight to maintain what he propounded, and he would uphold it strongly: but it was not so much to convince those with whom he disputed, as to understand their Parts and Character. He was as liberal as his Fortune would permit him to be; a great Observer of his Word; a good Friend; and an easie Pard'ner of Injuries. His Designs were all great, and deeply laid. He provided without any relaxation for the Future: particularly applying himself to the most proper means to establish his Family. Lastly, He was an Exemplar of Devotion, with the same equality of Mind entertaining his Prosperities and Adversities, relying wholly upon Providence.

He left four Children by his Marriage with the Queen of *Poland*, the eldest of which is now Duke of *Lorraine*, by the Name of *Leopold* the First.

Never was Prince more generally bewall'd than *Charles V.* and indeed all *Europe* was sensible of her loss. And she had reason to mourn for the loss of an Experienc'd Captain; one of the greatest Generals in the Confederate Armies:

miles. A Captain, whose Prudence and Valour began to be dreadful to France. In a word, a Prince that was not to be corrupted, and who acted less for his own Interests, than for the Interests of the Confederate Princes. But she has reason more particularly to mourn, that he dy'd at a time, that he was just upon the point of restoring his Family to it's Ancient Lustre, and to deliver his Subjects from the Yoke of Tyranny and Oppression; and for that by his Death, he left a disconsolate Family. In short, it was observ'd, that those Princes who had most reason to bewail his Death, were not so sorry for themselves as for the young Princes, who at the same time that they lost their Illustrious Father, seem'd to loose all the Hopes that began to sooth their Expectations.

The Duke of *Newburgh* who was compell'd to fly for Relief to *Vienna*, after the French had despoil'd him of his Country, declar'd to the Queen Dowager, that the Desolations of his *Electorate* did not go so near his Heart as the Loss of the Duke her Husband, and that the Princes his Children, look'd upon him as their Protector, who was no less sincerely mindful of their Interests then his own. Several other Princes condol'd her loss in very near the same Language. And the Elector of *Brandenburgh* wrote at the same time to the Emperor, desiring his Majesty would vouchsafe him the Favour of sharing with him the Quality of being a Father to the young Princes: adding withall, That as he had promis'd



mis'd *Charles V.* never to lay down Arms, till he were restor'd to his Territories, so he would continue the same Promise in behalf of the Successors to such a Hero, whose loss he should deplore as long as he liv'd. Some time after, the Emperor conferr'd the Government of *Tyrol* upon the young Duke. And the Pope has already granted to another of the Princes a Dispensation to be Coadjutor of the Grand Priory of *Castile*, which is worth above Two hundred thousand Crowns a Year.

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*The End of the Fifth and Last Book.*

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